

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

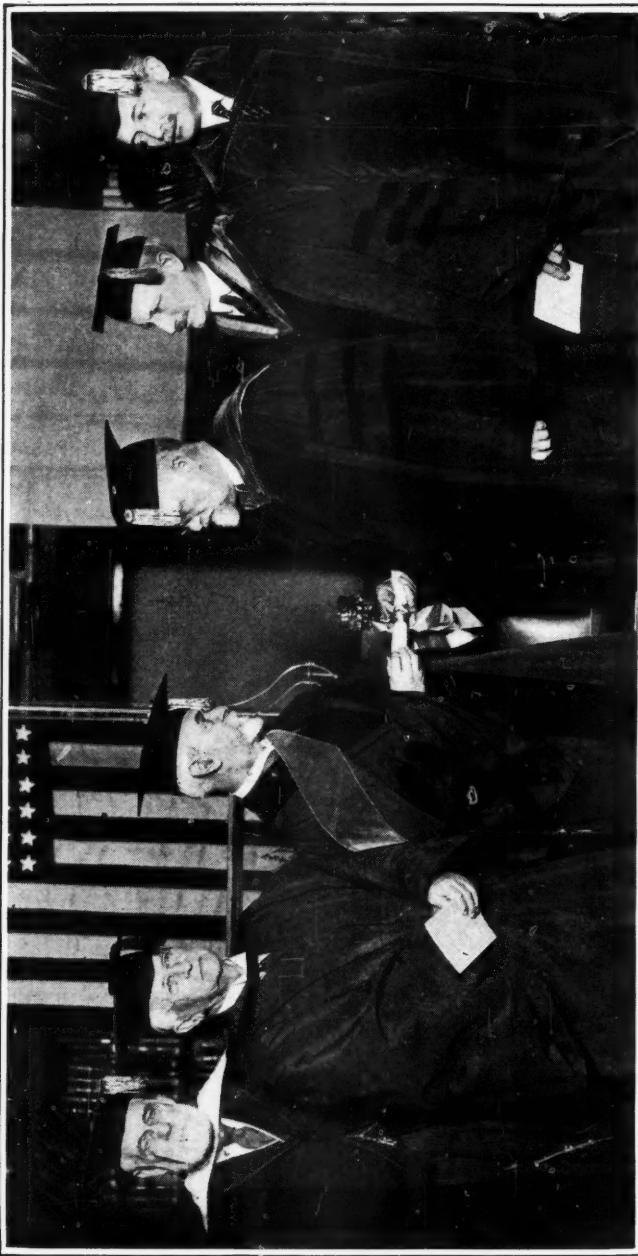
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#### NEW YORK UNIVERSITY HONORS AMBASSADOR JUSSEURAND

(It was the evident determination of the American people not to allow the distinguished French Ambassador at Washington, M. Jusserand, to end his long service of twenty-two years in the United States in a private or obscure way. He had received many American honors in the past; and new ones during his farewell weeks were conferred in such a spirit of genuine friendship and esteem that each successive occasion called out the Ambassador's evident appreciation. Our picture shows him receiving the diploma of honorary Doctor of Laws from Chancellor Brown of New York University, on December 5. In the picture, from left to right, are: Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson, former Ambassador to Italy; Dr. George Alexander, president of the Council of the University; Ambassador Jusserand; Chancellor Elmer Ellsworth Brown; Dr. Frank P. Graves, Commissioner of Education of the State of New York; and Gen. Charles H. Sherrill, of the University Council)

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 1

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*The Citizen  
Under  
Pressure*

The people of the United States have to be active-minded and studious if they are to keep even slightly informed about all of the really important matters that affect them through their responsibilities for local, State, and national government. The wisest may well feel bewildered at times in his efforts to keep himself in touch with so much that is going on around him. First, he is a citizen of his own town or neighborhood; and local matters—health, education, police protection, taxation and expenditures, public improvements—must not be neglected. His State is a sovereign entity; and its problems of government and administration cannot be regarded as minor matters to be left to small-fry politicians. He does not need to be told that the Government at Washington is dealing, at all times, with subjects that concern him and about which he must try to have intelligent opinions. Furthermore, he begins to understand that there is a domain of international life; and that now as never before the citizen is called to thought and effort in the broad sphere of world affairs. The standard newspapers of any important American city—and even the local papers, to a great extent—are now recognizing the interest of the individual citizen in all of these different relationships.

*The General  
Attitude is  
Improving* Besides the strictly official affairs of Government that must claim the attention of good citizens, there are many quasi-public activities and concerns—religious, charitable, educational, patriotic, recreational, economic, social—that are quite essential to our organized life and that play their

indispensable part in the forward movement of civilization. There was a time when many individuals in the United States devoted themselves frankly and without shame to money-making as an all-absorbing object, and avowedly abstained from the activities of citizenship, as such. Moreover, there were great hosts of manual workers who were too poor, and too deeply involved in the struggle for existence, to give time or thought to public affairs, except as the politicians rounded them up at election time. Fortunately, these conditions have greatly changed within a few years. So-called successful business men no longer proclaim their devotion to their own private interests, nor boast of their apathy as regards public policies and community affairs. As for the wage-earner, he is assuming his proper place as a citizen, with increasing breadth of view and with lessening control by politicians or by the demagogues who thrive upon the fomenting of class prejudice.

*Enlarged  
Spheres of  
Government*

But, although the willingness and the purpose to perform the duties of citizenship in a responsible way are much more general than ever before, there are certain difficulties that even the best-informed are confronting, and that do not grow less. We refer especially to the difficulties that arise from the obvious fact that affairs of Government—public matters that concern everybody—are yearly growing more numerous, varied, and complicated. A fairly brief review of the topics of international concern that have been prominent during the month of December would fill many pages of a periodical like this REVIEW. The



**Ben S. Paulen**  
(Kansas)



**Clarence J. Morley**  
(Colorado)



**John Hammill**  
(Iowa)



**Theodore Christiansen**  
(Minnesota)

#### FOUR NEW REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS WHOSE TERMS BEGIN IN JANUARY

questions of national importance that have freshly presented themselves with the completion of the electoral campaign, the opening of the new session of Congress, the messages and addresses of the President, and the annual reports of the heads of departments and particular bureaus or services, are enough, in their range and their importance, to baffle the inquiring citizen who is trying to follow the news in the governmental field. But the citizen has also to consider the daily presentation of public issues relating to his own particular State, his city, his county, or his lesser neighborhood.

*"Civics" to  
be Studied  
Diligently*

How to meet these growing demands of citizenship is a question the answer to which everyone must find for himself. It is plain that these things are no longer to be regarded as incidental, and that the largest possible number of men and women should think of the business of being a citizen as something to which they must give a fair share of time and effort. The preparation for citizenship should have a much larger place in the education of children and young people than heretofore. Familiarity with the mechanism of government, and with the nature and actual content of organic law, should be acquired in youth as a result of good teaching and of constant drill. There are many matters of information pertaining to what for short one may call civics, that should be learned by sheer application and diligence, as arithmetic and geography are learned. These matters are, most decidedly,

subjects in which children should be trained, while there are also subjects that are of universal and continuous importance in any scheme of adult education. There are advantages in concentrating attention from time to time upon spheres of activity that are prominent in the news of the day.

*The States  
and their  
Law-makers* Thus, the month of January, 1925, is a particularly advantageous one for the study of the nature and work of the State governments. Of our forty-eight States, there are seven that still adhere to the plan of holding sessions of the legislature each year. Forty of the States convene their legislatures once every two years. Alabama, making the forty-eighth, is unique in having adopted the plan of a legislative session only once in four years. Thus the Alabama legislature will not meet again until January, 1927, having had a session early in 1923. The seven States that hold annual sessions are as follows: New York (meeting on Jan. 1), Rhode Island (Jan. 1), Massachusetts (Jan. 2), Idaho (Jan. 5), South Carolina (Jan. 7), New Jersey (Jan. 8), and New Mexico (Jan. 13). Most of the States that hold biennial sessions call their legislatures together early in the odd years, rather than in the even years. A moment's reflection will show that this is due to the fact that as a matter of convenience the legislatures are usually elected at the same time that we are obliged by the national Constitution to choose members of Congress, namely, in November of every even year.



John W. Martin  
(Florida)



Angus W. McLean  
(North Carolina)



Roland H. Hartley  
(Washington)



Alvin T. Fuller  
(Massachusetts)

A GROUP OF NEW GOVERNORS, TWO DEMOCRATS AND TWO REPUBLICANS

*January at the State Capitals* Thus thirty-nine States will be holding legislative sessions in 1925, thirty-eight of them meeting in January, while that of Florida does not meet until April 7. Apart from the seven States holding annual sessions, there are only eight that will convene their legislatures in the year 1926. These are Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Minnesota. In January, therefore, we shall have thirty-eight State legislatures in session, and there will be particular occasion to watch the course of State affairs. The citizens will find it the easier to give relatively more thought to State and local matters, because very little is expected or desired from the present session of Congress at Washington beyond the passing of the appropriation bills. Thirty-four State Governors were elected in November, of whom twenty-four were new men, while ten were re-elected. Two years ago the messages of the Governors were documents of unusual interest and importance; and, taken together, they gave a panoramic view of American conditions and affairs that was of unrivaled value. Many of our readers will remember that we dealt with these messages in three successive articles of comment and summary. Doubtless the Governor's messages of the present season will be of similar character. Most of the States find themselves in the thick of a post-war effort to modernize their institutions and to promote the welfare and prosperity of all their people, especially children, agricultural communities, and wage-earners. The most difficult problem is to find the necessary revenue.

*Federalism now too Aggressive*

The States in recent years have had to submit to a devastating invasion of their resources by a national Government that knows no check when the war power is invoked. No ruler or government, having once seized great and unusual spheres of authority under exceptional circumstances, is ever willing to retire to its own proper place when the emergency is passed. It is now for the citizen to decide to what extent he finds it beneficial to him to aggrandize the Government at Washington at the expense of his State Government. There are thoughtful citizens who regret the enactment of the constitutional amendment that in 1913 conferred the power upon Congress to levy income taxes. This power still remains in the States, but its exercise by Congress has been so confiscatory in spirit and so objectionable in method as virtually to destroy this source of revenue for State purposes. Furthermore, the administration of the income-tax laws brings the Federal Government into direct contact with the citizen in ways that would have been abhorrent to all the original framers of the Federal Constitution. It has of late been strongly urged at Washington that the national government should be authorized, by another amendment to the Federal Constitution, to attack the borrowing power of the States by subjecting the income of State and local securities to Federal taxation. The States will do well to reserve for themselves the right to levy taxes upon the income derived from their own bond issues and those of their municipalities.

*The Pending  
Child-Labor  
Amendment*

There is only one proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States that is now going the rounds of the States for adoption or rejection. This is the so-called Child Labor amendment. To become a part of the Constitution, it must be approved by three-fourths of the legislatures of the States; that is to say, by as many as thirty-six. It has now been dealt with by four, three of which have rejected it. These three are Louisiana, Georgia, and North Carolina; and it has been accepted only by Arkansas. The legislature of Massachusetts thought it best to take instruction from the people, and therefore submitted to the voters at the November election the question whether or not they were in favor of conferring upon Congress the power to regulate the labor of children and minors under the age of eighteen. The people of Massachusetts, in round numbers, cast 241,000 votes supporting the amendment and 697,000 against it. The legislature will of course regard this popular verdict as conclusive. The three Southern States that had rejected the amendment in their 1924 sessions were emphatic in their opposition, while the Arkansas legislature, in ratifying, carried the measure by a close vote in each house.

*A Bad Start  
and Rough  
Sailing*

The proposed amendment, therefore, has evidently an unfortunate start. It comes now before the numerous legislatures that are meeting in the present January. It must run successfully the gauntlet of thirty-five legislatures, to be added to its Arkansas victory, if it is to become a part of the Constitution. But, if only eight legislatures follow the examples set by Massachusetts and the three Southern States already named, the proposal will be dead. The influences that are now at work against the amendment are much more energetic and extensive than those that are working on its behalf. It would be safe enough to observe, therefore, that it will be harder to find thirty-five favorable legislatures than to find eight opposing ones.

*The Surprising  
Verdict in  
Massachusetts*

Massachusetts had long ago taken a leading place in the movement to protect children. New England was regarded as favoring Federal legislation in order to force the competing textile mills of the Southern States up to Northern standards. The

recent Massachusetts vote, therefore, is significant from several standpoints. It must mean for one thing that the New England people are tired of so much Federal interference in personal and local matters as recent years have brought about. Furthermore, it seems to be true that the people of Massachusetts to a great extent voted under a misapprehension as to the exact nature of the proposed amendment. Two wholly different things became confused in the discussion. The first of these two was the question of establishing Federal jurisdiction, and this, indeed, was the only one that was properly before the public. The other question, and the one chiefly discussed, had to do with the propriety of bringing children under legal control, and thus interfering with the traditional authority of parents. But this matter was wholly apart and irrelevant.

*Merely a  
Question of  
Jurisdiction*

Nothing practical is now involved in submitting the amendment except the desirability of making certain minimum standards uniform throughout the United States. The amendment would give Congress the power to pass child labor laws; but it does not carry with it the slightest presumption that any particular kind of legislation would actually be adopted. Undoubtedly the majority of the voters in Massachusetts were made to believe that the Child Labor Amendment was somehow analogous to the Prohibition Amendment. The Eighteenth Amendment prohibits the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages. It would have been a very different affair if the Eighteenth Amendment had extended to Congress the power to regulate the manufacture and sale of intoxicants, even to the point of complete suppression of the industry. This would not have required Congress to do anything about it at all, but would merely have made it possible to subject the liquor business to uniform treatment. Even now, the Child Labor Amendment is being discussed, pro and con, as if it were putting something of a regulatory or prohibitory kind into the Constitution, whereas it only extends a permissive jurisdiction over the subject.

*Mistakes  
of Fact and  
Method*

The most intelligent farm papers in the United States are to-day persistently giving their readers the impression that to adopt

this Amendment would at once bring about an interference with the employment of young people in household chores and in the varied tasks of agriculture. As a matter of fact, we have already lived for a number of years under Federal regulation of child labor, and there is not the remotest chance that Congress could pass laws upon this subject that would be any more exasperating than the States will themselves pass if Congress is not permitted to make rules applying uniformly throughout the country. In their honest zeal, it is to be feared that the advocates of the Amendment have made the tactical mistake of discussing the problem of child labor, rather than the pending issue of national as well as local jurisdiction. It would be entirely consistent to favor the Amendment while not favoring the passage of any legislation whatsoever under it in the near future.

*As to the Reform Itself* We have now had a long period of successful agitation as regards this matter of childhood and industrial employment. The further progress of the reform is assured, and is not dependent upon the passage of the controverted Amendment. Even with Federal legislation, it would be necessary to have State legislation on the subject. And in any case, public sentiment must be kept alive, and localities must be persuaded from time to time to conform to the standards that experience has shown to be humane and suitable. If this Amendment were on the pattern of the Eighteenth, and specifically prohibited child labor in any sweeping way, we should almost certainly be among those who would oppose its present adoption. But an amendment which merely gives Congress concurrent jurisdiction as regards this subject is a totally different thing. It would probably be wise to give Congress the power, whether or not the power should be exercised. In view of the present state of public opinion, it is impossible to believe that Congress would enact any child labor laws that would not apply beneficially to actual conditions throughout the country. The Amendment is misunderstood, and it is likely to fail. It will be all the more incumbent, therefore, upon those who are working for improved education and the better care of children to expose abuses wherever found, and to bring State and local pressure to bear for the application of remedies. There will be

found, elsewhere in this issue, a well-informed article by Mr Raymond G. Fuller, an advocate of the Child Labor Amendment. His views seem to us worthy of careful consideration.

*The Proposed Changes in Terms and Dates* Of all the subjects regarding which it has recently been proposed to amend the Constitution of the United States, the one that is best deserving of attention has to do with the election of President and Vice-President and with a rearrangement of the dates for the beginning of terms and of the sessions of Congress. It does not follow, however, that Congress, in the present session, ought to crystallize this subject-matter in any particular form of amendment in order to hasten it upon its round of the States. It is not likely that action at Washington could be wisely completed, in time to be followed by decisions in the State legislatures during the sessions that open in the present January. In that case ratification by the necessary thirty-six States could not well be secured until 1927. There is pending at Washington the Norris amendment, which would bring about a much desired change of dates. This measure proposes to have each new Congress meet on the first Monday in January following its election, and to have Presidents inaugurated on the third Monday of January instead of March 4. The Senate passed this proposal two years ago and again last winter; but the House had not yet accepted it. Very prompt action would be required to get it before the 1925 legislatures. Such an amendment would bring about an improvement in the practical working of our Federal Government of almost inestimable importance.

*A Commission to Frame Amendments* The "Norris amendment" would result in the shortening of one Presidential term by several weeks, in order to start all future four-year terms in January instead of March. But, meanwhile, there are certain changes that should be made relating to the details of electing Presidents; and there are proposals pending, one of them brought forward by Senator Wadsworth, having to do with the ratification of amendments. These are all matters relating to the machinery of the national government. They are not intended to change its essential structure or to increase or diminish its functions, but merely to enhance its



HON JOHN L. CABLE, OF OHIO

(Mr. Cable, who is one of the younger Republican members of Congress, comes from the city of Lima, Ohio, and represents the Fourth District. As a member of the Committee on the Election of President, Vice-President, and Members of Congress, he has given particular attention to proposed changes in the dates and methods)

efficiency and to remedy certain obvious defects or lacks. A joint resolution has been introduced by the Hon. John L. Cable, representing the Fourth Ohio District, which would refer all these closely related questions to a commission whose duty it would be to give form to a sufficiently comprehensive amendment. The proposed commission would consist of nine members, three to be appointed by the Speaker of the House, three by the President of the Senate, and three by the President of the United States. This plan secured the prompt support of Mr. Longworth, Floor Leader of the House, and other influential members; and it was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Fess of Ohio.

**Questions  
to be  
Answered** Such a commission would take in hand the various pending proposals. It is Mr. Cable's idea that a report should be made by the first of January, 1926. This would give Congress ample time to act upon the report, and the States could ratify soon enough to make the new provisions apply to the result of the elections of November,

1928. Mr. Cable's resolution presents, in its preamble, fifteen questions that have arisen "which have not yet been finally determined or perfected by proper amendment or legislation." These are so pertinent and interesting that we present them all herewith:

- (a) Does the Secretary of State succeed to the presidency if for any reason there is no constitutionally elected President by March 4?
- (b) Shall there be a special election? Or does the person succeeding to the presidency fill out the unexpired term?
- (c) If the election were ordered in case of a vacancy in the office, could it be for the unexpired term or would it have to be for a term of four years, thus disarranging the four-year period of the Government?
- (d) Does the commission of a Cabinet officer expire on March 4, and would this prevent succession?
- (e) For what length of time would a Cabinet officer act as President?
- (f) Shall the choice of a Chief Executive be intrusted to the House of Representatives about to go out of existence when such House may even be under control of the party defeated at the preceding November election?
- (g) Where the President-elect dies before the second Wednesday in February, may the House of Representatives elect a President?
- (h) In case of failure to count the votes and declare the results by the 4th of March, where the electors have not failed to elect but Congress has failed to declare the result, may the count continue?
- (i) Would the Vice-President-elect succeed to the Presidency should the President-elect die before the 4th of March?
- (j) Who would be President in case both President-elect and Vice-President-elect should die before March 4?
- (k) If more than three persons voted for as President should receive the highest number and an equal number of votes in the Electoral College, and suppose there were six candidates, three of whom had an equal number, who is to be preferred?
- (l) If there should be more than two of the candidates for the Vice-Presidency in a similar category, for how many then, and for whom, would the Senate vote?
- (m) If a candidate for President should die after the election and before January 12 and before the electors met, how should they vote?
- (n) If the President-elect should die after the Electoral College has met and before Congress counted the vote, how could the vote be counted? Or could it be postponed?
- (o) Should the Congress, particularly when repudiated by the people, continue to legislate? Or should a new Congress be convened to carry out the recently expressed wishes of the people?

These are thoroughly practical questions, and they ought to be answered by proper enactments. They do not involve any obstinate differences of opinion, or any partisan feeling whatsoever.

*Deliberate  
Study —  
Now Best*

Since we have waited so long to adjust these unsettled details, it is probably desirable to set apart a year for their careful study at the hands of a competent group of men. The American Bar Association has for some years given attention to these matters, urging the necessity for changes along the line of the Norris amendment. Mr. Levi Cooke, of Washington, D. C., is now the chairman of the Bar Association's standing committee on that subject. The former chairman was Mr. William Lowell Putnam, of Boston, who died last August and who had given much time and thought to the proposed reform. Mr. Cooke reminds us, incidentally, that Mr. Putnam had convinced himself that the Civil War might have been averted if President Lincoln could have been inaugurated in January, instead of waiting and helplessly watching the fatal drift of things until he took office on March 4. There are reasons of like weight why a newly elected Congress should come into session promptly after election. The commission proposed by Mr. Cable would aid rather than supersede the existing Congress committees, and its recommendations would be subject to the approval of Congress. But its report would almost certainly be accepted at Washington, and ratified promptly by the State legislatures. A minority report of the House committee, criticizing the Norris amendment, states that between 1876 and the present date seventy-odd proposed amendments differing as to the dates suggested, have been offered to amend the Constitution affecting commencement of terms.

*Recent  
Appeals to  
the People*

We have called attention to the emphatic manner in which the Massachusetts voters instructed their lawmakers to reject the Child Labor amendment. This leads us to remark that there is evidently an increased tendency to make use of the referendum in State affairs. Beginning in the West, this movement has now reached to the Atlantic. The Massachusetts voters in November acted upon seven distinct matters referred to them by the legislature. They supported a State prohibition enforcement act by a small majority, while they rejected by a large vote the proposal to levy a sales tax on gasoline (two cents a gallon) for the maintenance of highways. In New York State, the voters showed intelligence and wisdom in their

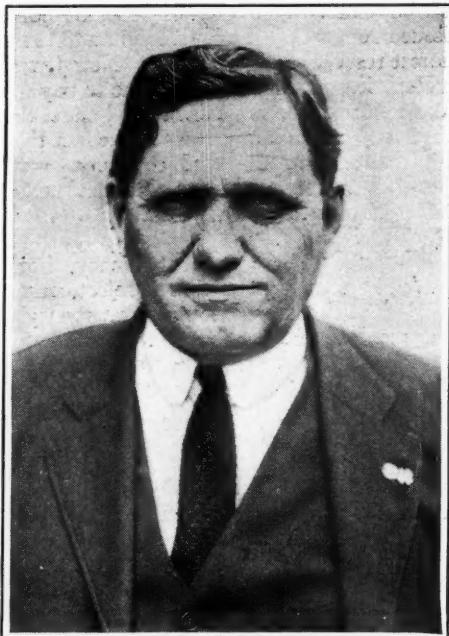
strong endorsement of a \$15,000,000 bond issue in order that the State might add to its forest reserves and park areas. New Jersey voters, in sustaining a bond issue to pay for their share of the vehicular tunnel under the Hudson River, plainly grasped the fact that an investment of this kind, connecting New Jersey with its great metropolitan market, is of advantage to the entire State.

*Various  
Verdicts  
by Voters*

The general tendency, however, has been to reject constitutional changes that the legislatures had favored and submitted for approval. Thus Michigan was one of the States that refused to levy personal income taxes, on top of the Federal taxes. The States of Michigan and Washington rejected proposals that would have closed parochial schools. Oregon repealed the existing State income tax, but adopted the new York plan of requiring all voters to read and write English. While all the States undoubtedly realize the desirability of improving their public roads, they are feeling the burdens of taxation to such an extent that they are reluctant to support large schemes. Thus Kentucky refused to ratify a \$75,000,000 bond issue for roads. Illinois, however, with larger taxable resources than Kentucky, approved of a \$100,000,000 bond issue for its highways. It is not quite clear why the voters of Massachusetts disallowed a carefully devised form of gasoline tax that the legislature had adopted without little or no opposition. Minnesota, Missouri, and Texas were States that approved of gasoline taxes at this same November election.

*The States  
and Their  
Tax Troubles*

California voters ratified the constitutional amendment that provides a five dollar poll tax on every male citizen between the ages of twenty-one and fifty except war veterans and persons paying property taxes. This action in California is chiefly significant because it further illustrates the pressure everywhere throughout the country to find solutions for the problems of taxation. Florida, meanwhile, has made a bold advertising bid for public attention by adopting a constitutional amendment that prohibits State income taxes and inheritance taxes. No other of the forty-eight States has taken this position, although the great majority are not inclined at the present time to make use of their power to levy taxes upon personal incomes. It is evident that we have



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HON. SMITH W. BROOKHART, SENATOR FROM IOWA

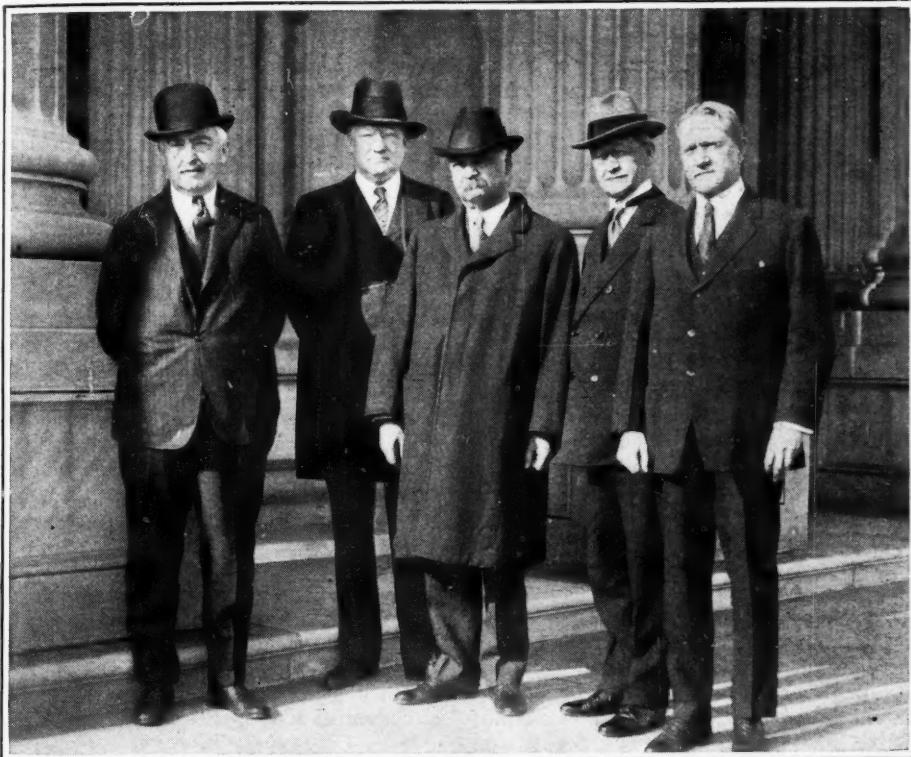
(Mr. Brookhart, who was renominated in the Republican primaries by an immense majority, was reelected in November by a plurality of less than 800 votes. He supported LaFollette for President, and is no longer regarded by his Senate colleagues as a member of the Republican party)

created a difficult position for the States by placing in the hands of the Federal Government certain sources of revenue that the States should have reserved. The taxes levied upon the assessed value of real estate for local and State objects are unscientific and are exceedingly detrimental to agriculture. Personal property taxes discover the farmer's horses, cows, and machinery, but do not discover the city man's intangibles. Federal income taxation should be simplified, greatly reduced, and made applicable solely to the handling of the war debt. This would make it possible for the States to substitute income and inheritance taxes for the greater part of the present improper burden of taxation levied on the assessed value of tangible property.

*Washington News and Near-news* It is hard to rescue the drifting fragments of real Washington news from the shoreless seas of daily report and discussion upon which they seem to be floating uncertainly. The President, after sending his budget message to Congress, December 2, and his regular

annual message, December 3, found himself a railroad passenger to Chicago, where he visited the live stock show and made some well-considered speeches on the 4th, returning at once to his desk in the White House offices. The department heads have made their annual reports, which have been duly summarized by the press. Stretches of forest land were devastated to furnish the white paper upon which have been printed the many unverified rumors of Cabinet changes to take place at some possible future time. There have been rumors, also, of sweeping changes in diplomatic posts, practically all of which have been denied—all this in columns of newsprint that have further depleted our dwindling forest areas of spruce timber. Meanwhile, the Sixty-eighth Congress, duly assembled for its second session, has been amply reminded of the November elections, and invited to pass one measure or another to protect the country in future against the like evil of "lame duck" sessions.

*A Hold-over Opposition House* This Congress has hitherto exhibited itself as in violent opposition to the policies most strongly urged by the President and his Cabinet. It has failed to accept the views of Presidents Harding and Coolidge and Secretary Hughes regarding such foreign-policy matters as the Permanent International Court of Justice. It has scornfully rejected the moderate and sensible tax reform proposals of Secretary Mellon, supported as these have been by every intelligent student of taxation, regardless of party, in the entire country. It has insisted upon passing bonus legislation over the President's veto that was absurd upon its face and that was not desired by its supposed beneficiaries. It expires by limitation on the 4th of March. The one thing that it could do to win applause and to redeem its record would be to pass the appropriation bills (in substantial agreement with the executive budget as presented, for which the month of January would afford sufficient time) and then to adjourn. Nothing of this kind, of course, will happen; yet the propriety of it should be obvious. Although we have not yet changed the constitutional dates, there was a popular verdict in November that ought to be respected. Common sense would suggest that the old Congress should wind up its business with the least possible delay, and that the



A GROUP OF REPUBLICAN SENATORS PROMINENT IN THE PRESENT SESSION OF CONGRESS  
(From left to right, Messrs. Butler of Massachusetts, Watson of Indiana, Curtis of Kansas, Metcalf of Rhode Island, and Moses of New Hampshire).

President should call the new Congress in extra session at the earliest possible date after March 4, to deal with new business.

*Facts to be  
Recognized*

It is well to clear away fictions and see situations as they are.

The Sixty-eighth Congress has been controlled by a majority resulting from a coalition between the Democrats and certain radical groups and blocs; and this coalition has, in the main, been under the leadership of Senator LaFollette. In many respects it has been able to thwart the plans, programs, and policies of the Republican Administration. The Republican party, with Coolidge and Dawes for its candidates, made a straight appeal to the country for confidence and support, as against the situation that had been produced by the attitude of the Sixty-eighth Congress. The verdict was an overwhelming endorsement of the Administration. Not only was the Presidential ticket elected by the most conclusive majorities, but its Republican supporters

were elected to the Sixty-ninth Congress in sufficient numbers to give full working control. But for our antiquated machinery of government, we should have had the new Congress rather than the old one now at work, precisely as the newly-elected House of Commons in England has superseded its predecessor.

*Parties and  
Responsibility  
in Congress*

There is no more reason in the nature of things for giving committee chairmanships in the Senate to men who are not supporters of the party that has been responsibly designated by the people to carry on the Government, than there would be grounds for keeping leaders of the British Labor party as the parliamentary exponents of various departments of activity under the new Baldwin Government. The Senate has been prone to attach an exaggerated importance to its seniority traditions while at the same time making the chairman of an important committee a sort of satrap or

dictator. While no one is proposing that the President and Cabinet should take an active part in the arrangement of Senate and House committees, the country has a right to expect that when the verdict of public opinion has been as clear as that of last November the majority members in both branches of Congress will so organize their machinery as to facilitate the exercise of party responsibility.

*Senators and Their New Assignments*

Unquestionably the country has meant to endorse the Administration plan to join the World Court. The Foreign Relations Committee ought to be so organized as to coöperate with the President. Opposition should come from the Democratic minority, and not from the personal whims of a Senator who reaches the chairmanship through accident rather than through selection. An independent critic like Senator Borah is not at his best in the chairmanship of a party committee, especially since the Senate has come by degrees to regard a chairman's individual preferences as of more weight than the opinions of his fellow members. But Mr. Borah will not be unmindful of all this. In place of Senator Lodge, the leadership of the Senate has been assigned to Mr. Curtis of Kansas, with Mr. Watson of Indiana as his assistant. Senator Wesley Jones of Washington takes the place as Republican party Whip that had been held by Senator Curtis.

*Looking to the Next Congress*

It is presumable that these designations, together with various committee changes that have been made necessary by reason of the deaths of Senators Lodge, Brandegee, and Colt, will, for the most part, be continued when the next Congress assembles. It is this expectation that gives importance to the shifts and assignments. Thus Mr. Cummins succeeds the late Mr. Brandegee as chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and Mr. Johnson of California takes the place of the late Senator Colt as head of the Immigration Committee. Senator Phipps of Colorado succeeds Senator Borah as chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor. Senators LaFollette, Brookhart, Ladd, and Frazier were not invited to the Republican Senatorial conference that ratified these and other party arrangements. Their influence and usefulness as Senators are in no manner impaired by their

exclusion from a Republican caucus which, for every reason, ought to be run by so-called "regulars." This is not to be regarded as intolerance. It means only that the Republican party is to be in such a position that the country can hold it responsible for the uses it makes of the victory it gained at the polls.

*The Budget Message*

President Coolidge, in his two messages of December 2 and 3, did not follow the examples of Presidents Wilson and Harding, who preferred to appear at the Capitol and deliver their messages by word of mouth to the two houses jointly assembled. Mr. Coolidge reverts to the practice of a long line of Presidents prior to 1913. He has made no statement on the subject, however, and he will be free to address Congress in person at any time during the next four years. The spoken message tends to become brief, oratorical, and non-statistical. It does not serve quite the same function as the typical pre-Wilson State paper that put on record a great deal of information in a form convenient for reference. Much can be said for each method. Mr. Coolidge's message of December 2 opened as follows:

I transmit herewith the budget of the United States for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1926. The receipts and expenditures shown in detail in the budget are summarized in the following statement:

Total receipts: estimated, 1926, \$3,641,295,092; estimated, 1925, \$3,601,968,297; actual, 1924, \$4,012,044,701.

Total expenditures (including reduction of the public debt required by law to be made from ordinary receipts): estimated, 1926, \$3,267,551,378; estimated, 1925, \$3,534,083,808; actual, 1924, \$3,506,677,715.

Excess of receipts over expenditures: estimated, 1926: \$373,743,714; estimated, 1925, \$67,884,489; actual, 1924, \$505,366,986.

There follows an extensive summarization of the facts relating to the Government's receipts and expenditures. So highly statistical a document as this message could not well be read aloud by the President to lawmakers who would prefer to have it in cold type and study it at leisure. The report shows continued debt reduction and a persistent effort to run the Government economically. Our largest item of ordinary expenditure is for the Veterans' Bureau, which is costing \$400,000,000 a year. The President believes that relief from excessive taxation is the greatest boon, and that economy is the first duty of the Government.

*Economy and the Budget System* The War and Navy Departments, taken together, now cost considerably more than \$600,000,000. Apart from the public debt, expenses of running the Government are fairly well under \$2,000,000,000 a year. But we are also making regular payments to reduce the principal of the public debt out of ordinary revenue, besides paying interest on outstanding bonds. This interest charge has, by good management, been reduced from more than a billion dollars a year to not much more than four-fifths of that amount, and the so-called "sinking fund" payment reduces the principal by from three hundred to four hundred millions a year. We are presenting debt figures in a later paragraph on Secretary Mellon's report. The President discusses the bill for national defense and thinks that we can get better results without much increase of cost. He emphasizes the need of airplane development from the standpoint of protection. The budget system again justifies itself by its well-proportioned estimates.

*Mr. Coolidge on Defense Measures* It is in the regular annual message, read in Congress on December 3, that President Coolidge gives free expression to his views on various matters of policy. The document is one that repays thoughtful study. He

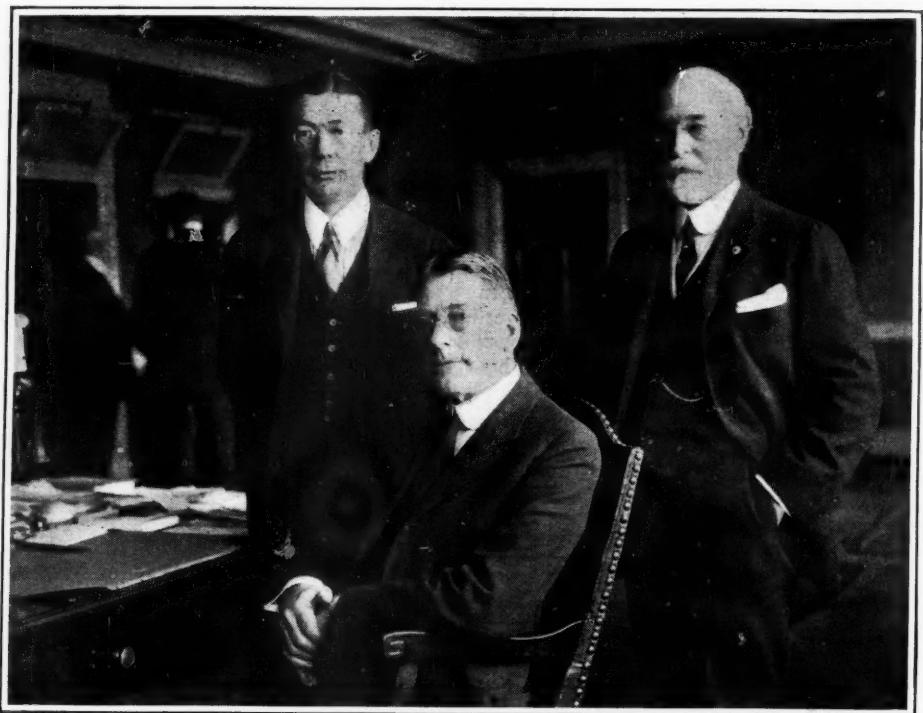


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SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH, OF IDAHO  
(The new Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee)

cautions us not to be too much impressed by alarmist reports regarding the "magnitude of the military equipment of other nations." "Our country," he says, "has definitely relinquished the custom of dealing with other countries by terror and force and is definitely committed to the new standard of dealing with them through friendship and understanding." And he wishes that "foreign nations should comprehend the candor and sincerity with which we have adopted this position." Nevertheless, he says that he "believes thoroughly in the army and navy, in adequate defense and preparation." "We propose," he declares, "to maintain defensive and supplementary police forces by land and sea, and to train them through inspections and maneuvers, upon appropriate occasions, in order to maintain their efficiency." Apparently, these remarks have some reference to our



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HON. WESLEY L. JONES, SENATOR FROM WASHINGTON  
(Republican "whip" in the new session of the Senate)



THE THREE MEN MOST PROMINENT IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE NAVY DEPARTMENT

(Left to right: Hon. Theodore Douglas Robinson [cousin to Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, who recently resigned as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and was succeeded in that post by Mr. Robinson], Hon. Curtis Dwight Wilbur, Secretary of the Navy, and Admiral Edward W. Eberle, Chief of Naval Operations)

program of naval construction and our plans for naval maneuvers in the Pacific.

*Our Navy  
Below the  
Ratio*

Under agreements made at the Washington Conference, the naval strength of the United States, the British Empire, and the Japanese Empire is to be maintained, as regards capital ships (battleships and armored cruisers), at the ratio of 5-5-3. We have recently given the world a great object lesson by taking out to sea and sinking the almost completed battleship *Washington* upon which not less than \$30,000,000 is said to have been expended. A nation that will thus dispose of its new and modern ships, while keeping its old and half-obsolete vessels in service, is evidently not trying to terrorize anybody by a display of force. It is now asserted that we have allowed our strength in capital ships to decline. Our naval authorities make suggestions which would bring us to the standard of equality with Great Britain, not in a spirit of competition but in exactly the opposite spirit.

*Cruisers and  
Minor Naval  
Items*

The Washington treaty did not deal with other classes of ships. It is estimated that we now have cruisers to the amount of 75,000 tons as against Britain's 300,000 tons and Japan's 171,000. To bring our cruiser strength up to the 5-5-3 ratio, it is said by naval authorities that we ought to build about twenty-two new vessels. On December 11, the Senate passed a bill that had already gone through the House appropriating \$130,000,000 for navy betterments, this measure including money for eight new cruisers, and for boiler and engine reconstruction of some of the existing battleships. In fleet submarines, the American strength is perhaps 12,000 tons as against 18,000 for the British and 36,000 for the Japanese. In aircraft available for defense, we are seriously deficient. It should be the policy of the Government—and probably will be—to encourage aviation as an industry, that, in case of need, private builders could supply the army and navy. There is a renewed interest in aviation from

the economic standpoint, and we may expect considerable developments in the near future.

*Efficiency  
is the Thing  
Requisite*

We have not yet arrived at the point where we can maintain internal order and protect the peace of communities without policemen and sheriffs. There is much international unrest behind the scenes, and a country like ours, having all its interests and convictions bound up in the maintenance of peace, can not afford to allow that great cause to be jeopardized by any cheeseparing or parsimonious policy as regards its naval efficiency. The cause of stability and peaceful progress will be better served by our maintaining our naval strength in the Pacific, in view of existing facts, than by our abandonment of a position that needs no explanation or apology. If our fleet should maneuver in the vicinity of our own Hawaiian Islands, we in the United States would not think of this as an unfriendly act toward Japan any more than toward Switzerland or Paraguay. There is no country in the world that is as friendly in its sentiment toward Japan as is the United States. Our fleet can have no errand except one of good-will, inasmuch as we have no policies to promote except those making for friendship and a prosperous commerce.

*Mr. Coolidge  
and the World  
At Large* While the President's message was, for the most part, devoted to economic questions, such as the needs of agriculture, the problem of consolidating railroads, and the business of the Shipping Board, there are some admirable paragraphs upon our foreign relations. These favor the international court, allude to proposed disarmament conferences, advocate the codifying of international law, express sympathy with the outlawing of aggressive war, and refer to our especial interest in the maintenance of peace in our own hemisphere. The President advises Congress to extend the term of the Foreign Debt Commission which is about to expire. No leader in any other country is as free as Mr. Coolidge to consider the world at large.



VISCOUNT CECIL OF CHELWOOD, BETTER KNOWN AS  
RT. HON. LORD ROBERT CECIL

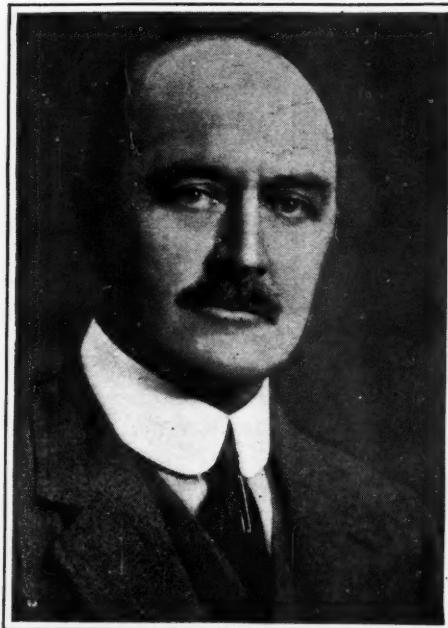
(A member of the Baldwin Cabinet and a warmly welcomed December visitor to the United States)

*Debts and  
Points of  
View*

The report that informal discussions had begun between our Government and that of France, regarding an adjustment of the French indebtedness to the United States, has led to protests from the British Government, and somewhat violent expressions in London newspapers. The British attacks are aimed rather at France than at the United States. The American point of view is quite simple and clear. France and England were engaged in a long and desperate war at their very doors which menaced their existence equally. The precise nature and terms of their association as war partners are matters about which the American Government is not informed, and about which it has never pretended to have an opinion. It seems to be the view at Paris that French contributions to the common cause were greater than British, and that materials represented by the pecuniary indebtedness of France to Great Britain are more than offset by sacrifices of French soldiers and losses of property. These are delicate issues of adjustment between Allies equally endangered, both of which waged war with stupendous efforts.

*Anglo-French  
Financial  
Relations*

America entered the war later, and from a different stand-point. In addition to our own huge war costs, we made certain loans to



VISCOUNT ALLENBY, FAMOUS BRITISH  
GENERAL

(Who has been High Commissioner for Egypt since 1919)

European governments as distinct financial transactions. The Washington Government has not pressed any one of these European governments for repayment. It has, however, insisted upon its viewpoint that the European Allies must adjust their own affairs among themselves, and that there can be no advantage in treating their obligations to the United States as a part of that European network of inter-allied relationships. The British people, like the American people, both commercially and as governments, are thoroughly solvent. They are engaged in credit transactions all the time, and they lend and borrow in many directions. They must pay when they borrow, or lose their financial standing. The Great War has not left the principal countries of the European continent in the same fortunate financial position that is enjoyed by the British Empire and the United States. It would be greatly to the advantage of everybody to have France regain her financial position by protecting the franc from further decline, recouping the cost of reconstruction through payments from Germany, and meeting her ordinary budget requirements by taxation. As for the treatment of her foreign debts, France



FUAD I., OF EGYPT, A MODERN TYPE  
OF SOVEREIGN

(Who was proclaimed King in March, 1922)

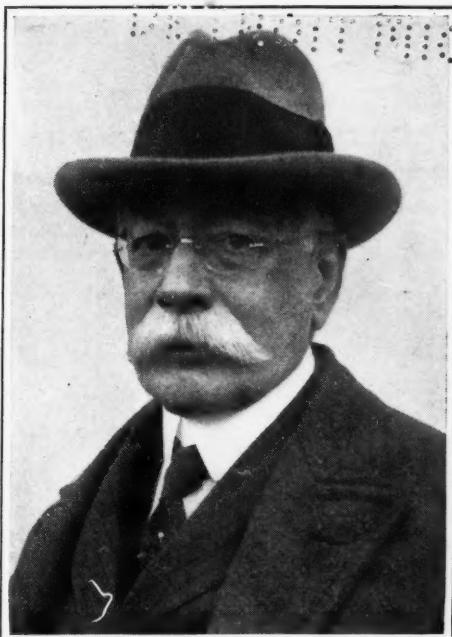
can only do her best in the circumstances, and she is not under any pressure either from the American Government or from unofficial American sentiment. Mr. Simonds discusses these debt questions more fully, in this number.

*England's  
Rights in  
Egypt*

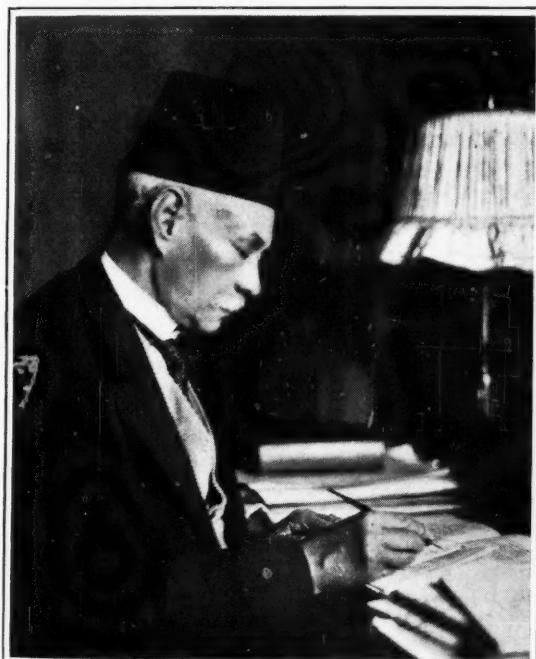
In trying to estimate the relative merits of the two sides in the dispute between the British Government and the Government of Egypt, it is well to remember that theory and practice do not always coincide. Egypt had, in theory, resumed an independent and sovereign place in the family of nations. Its authority over the Sudan was involved in some kind of a partnership with Great Britain. But, as a practical affair, the British had by no means withdrawn completely from Egypt, nor had they consented to such a measure of Egyptian independence as would have endangered their control of the Suez Canal. Neither had they regarded Egypt as in a position to act without British guidance in international affairs. The history of the case is well presented by Mr. Simonds. Cuba, theoretically, is an independent republic; and, for all ordinary purposes of self-government, there is no

interference. But Cuba's especial relationships with the United States have to be admitted and recognized. While the cases of Cuba and Egypt are not alike in details, they bear some analogy. There are certain explicit agreements between Cuba and the United States that we would not submit to the League of Nations or any other tribunal. In like manner, the British Government, which has felt itself obliged to act vigorously in Egypt by reason of certain revolutionary occurrences inspired by anti-British feeling, does not think it proper that Egypt should be allowed to carry Anglo-Egyptian questions before the League of Nations.

*Mr. Chamberlain At Rome* Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who is Foreign Minister in the Baldwin Cabinet, went last month to Rome in order to appear for a brief day or two in a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations. This was desirable because it is the policy of the British Government to show respect for the League, and to buildup it in its prestige and in its service to world peace. The Geneva protocol, at Mr. Chamberlain's request, is to be taken up several months hence. The Coun-



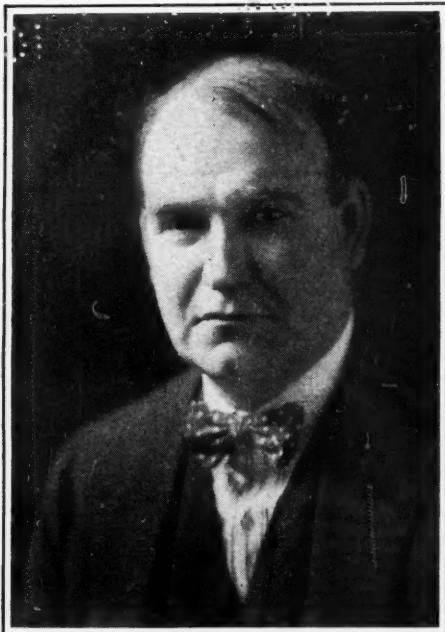
HON. GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM, OF NEW YORK  
(Mr. Wickersham, who was Attorney-General in the Taft Administration, is one of our foremost authorities upon international affairs)



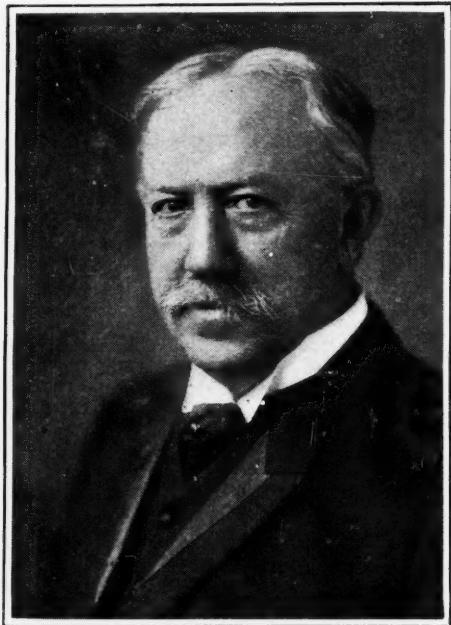
ZAGHLUL PASHA, LEADER OF THE EGYPTIAN NATIONALISTS, WHO HAS BEEN DISPLACED AS PREMIER

cil has decided to proceed with the codification of international law by the creation of an expert board upon which the United States will undoubtedly be represented. It is understood that Mr. Wickersham of New York will be invited to sit as the American member of such a group.

*Americans in World Service* Whether or not the United States is destined to join the League of Nations at some date not too remote, the men who stand prominently for America's participation in world affairs are suffering no penalties at the hands of their fellow citizens. Thus Mr. Owen D. Young, returning last month from his service as Agent-General for Reparations, was greeted at New York with an enthusiasm that was not limited to any party or group. Mr. George W. Wickersham, who is by common consent the right man to represent America on a board of jurists to



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MR. HAMILTON HOLT, OF CONNECTICUT AND  
NEW YORK



DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN, SCIENTIST AND  
EDUCATOR

codify international law, spent the autumn at Geneva and is identified conspicuously with the cause of world peace. Mr. Elihu Root and Secretary Hughes are not under any ban of disapproval by reason of their warm support of the Permanent International Court of Justice. Mr. Edward Bok and Dr. Levermore have not lost caste as devoted American citizens through their proposals for larger participation of the United States in the movement to suppress war and organize the world. The ideals of Woodrow Wilson are not losing their hold, as was made evident by the attention given to the memorial ceremonies at Washington on December 15, when President Alderman of the University of Virginia addressed both Houses of Congress, with President, Cabinet, Supreme Court and diplomatic corps present. Bishop Brent at Geneva, fighting against the opium curse, has had American Sentiment behind him.

*Award of the  
Wilson  
Foundation* The Woodrow Wilson Foundation, which aims not only to perpetuate the memory of Mr.

Wilson but to advance his principles, has established an annual prize of \$25,000 to be awarded "for meritorious service of a public character tending to the establish-

ment of peace through justice." Mr. Norman H. Davis, who is president of the trustees of the Foundation, recently announced that the first award of the prize had been made, through the decision of a capable jury, to Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, who is better known in the United States by his former title of Lord Robert Cecil. Lord Cecil, in association with General Smuts, next to President Wilson had most to do with framing the Covenant of the League of Nations and its inclusion in the Versailles Treaty. In many practical questions since then he has endeavored to apply the principles of law and justice to the settlement of questions between governments. His arrival in the United States was expected on or about December 23. Another prize of \$25,000 has been won by Dr. David Starr Jordan, the retired Chancellor of Leland Stanford University, for the best educational plan designed to maintain world peace. This award was announced by Dr. A. O. Thomas, Educational Commissioner for the State of Maine, who is President of the World Federation of Educational Associations. The choice was made after the winnowing out of an almost incredible number of projects that were submitted.

*The Contest in Connecticut*

One of the men who has been most actively identified with the Woodrow Wilson Foundation—and who for a number of years had been prominent in the League to Enforce Peace and afterwards in support of the League of Nations—is Mr. Hamilton Holt of New York and Connecticut. The death of Senator Brandegee of Connecticut resulted in the calling of a special election; and the Democrats of that State honored Mr. Holt by nominating him for the United States Senate. The Republican nomination was conferred upon Professor Hiram Bingham, who had, in November, been elected Governor of the State. The campaign attracted unusual attention, a considerable number of outside speakers going to Connecticut to support the rival candidates. The election was set for Tuesday, December 16. The result showed—as was generally expected—a Republican victory by a majority much smaller than in November.

*An Able Treasury Report* Secretary Mellon's public documents display a rare talent for making complicated financial and economic subjects intelligible to people at large. His annual report from the Treasury Department submitted to Congress on December 4 reiterates his plea for a reduction of high surtax rates, and for other tax reforms that would benefit business. The sections of the report relating to taxes are presumably addressed to the newly elected Congress which will not—unless specially convened—meet until December of 1925. For it has not seemed at all probable that the old Congress will enact any tax legislation, or that the Administration, however desirous it may be of certain changes, will ask for consideration of revenue matters in the present session. In



MR. AND MRS. SEYMOUR PARKER GILBERT

(Mr. Gilbert, who is a young New York lawyer, after brilliant service as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, has taken the place of Mr. Owen D. Young in Berlin as Agent-General for Reparations)

mid-December it did not seem likely even that the matter of publicity of tax returns would be dealt with by this Congress, which itself passed the bill providing for tax publicity, and which rejected Mr. Mellon's recommendation that the surtax on personal incomes should not reach a maximum of more than 25 per cent., on incomes of \$300,000 and over.

*Higher Rates—Less Revenue* The Secretary considers that the problem now before the Federal Government is not so much one of tax reduction as of tax reform. He has in mind the present excessive surtax rates, the "confiscatory" estate tax rates, and the gift tax which "is now unworkable and unduly hampers legitimate business." He adds: "The publicity provision in the revenue law in my opinion is a mistake of policy and will be detrimental to the

revenue." Mr. Mellon shows that citizens having incomes in excess of \$300,000 reported in 1916 aggregate incomes of nearly one billion dollars under a 15 per cent. maximum tax; but by 1922 the aggregate income of this wealthy class, under a maximum rate of 58 per cent., had dropped to \$365,000,000. He shows further that in the former year a 15 per cent. maximum tax produced just about as much revenue from the wealthy class as was produced by a 73 per cent. maximum rate in 1921. The Secretary makes it plain that in his urgent advocacy of lower surtaxes he is aiming to collect more revenue from the possessors of large incomes, and that his recommendations and efforts are meant to arrive at that particular rate which wealthy people will pay rather than put their investments into tax-exempt securities which produce no revenue for the Government. Incidentally Mr. Mellon reports that in spite of the 25 per cent. reduction in taxes provided for by Congress, total income taxes for 1924 were about \$163,000,000 larger than in the previous year.

*Reducing the  
Public  
Debt*

Our great war debt reached its maximum of \$25,484,000,000 on June 30, 1919. To-day it is somewhat less than \$21,000,000,000. In the fiscal year 1924 alone, the reduction amounted to approximately \$1,100,000,000. The reduction during the five years has saved \$225,000,000 in annual interest payments, "which equals nearly one-third of the total annual pre-war expenditure of the Government." It is not expected that liquidation of the debt will be continued indefinitely on such a generous scale. The Treasury looks for the annual retirement of at least a half billion dollars of bonds. If the process goes on even at this comparatively modest rate, the entire public debt would disappear in about forty years. Mr. Mellon is optimistic in his outlook, predicting a period, provided we approach it with intelligence, as prosperous and healthy as that which succeeded the election of 1896.

*Uncle Sam's  
Bonds Are  
Popular*

Early in December the Treasury Department offered the public an issue of 4 per cent. bonds maturing in 30 years (though callable in 20), this rate of 4 per cent. being lower than that of any other Government offer since 1917. Of the new long-term securities \$200,000,000 were offered for cash and sub-

scriptions immediately came in for about five times that sum. The result was that only the small bidders received any bonds at all, and only the smallest were allotted the full amounts asked for. Subscriptions were made through about 40,000 banks and other institutions; and the magnificent result showed that Secretary Mellon had chosen the time for the offering with his accustomed shrewdness. Although the Government received only \$200,000,000 in cash on this operation (which with the Treasury's surplus took care of various maturities of December 15), a much larger amount of new long-term 4 per cent. bonds are being and will be issued in exchange for various existing short-term securities such as the Third Liberty Loan bonds and Treasury notes and certificates. Indeed, the new bond issue was really the first phase of the colossal financial feat of retiring by December 1, 1929, \$8,044,000,000 of short-term securities. Of this total one of the largest items is the \$3,000,000,000 of the Third Liberty Loan; and it is the expectation of the Treasury officials that a substantial proportion of these bonds will be gotten out of the way through conversion into the new 4 per cents.

*Statistics of a Big Farm Year*

The report of the late Secretary Wallace of the Department of Agriculture, made public on December 7 by his successor, Secretary Gore, estimates that the agricultural production of the United States will this year bring the farmers about \$12,000,000,000, as against \$11,500,000,000 in 1923 and \$9,500,000,000 two years ago. Several private authorities have placed the gain in value of 1924 over the previous year at twice as much as the sum estimated by the Department; but at any rate, all hands agree that this year's harvest has been the finest in five years, in the sense of being the best balanced and representing the best income irrespective of volume. The good fortune of the wheat-raisers of the United States has already been recorded in this REVIEW. As in the case of the wheat crop, the cotton-growers saw their harvest become better as it approached fulfillment. October proved an exceptionally good month so far as weather for the cotton plant is concerned. Instead of the earlier estimated yield of 12,500,000 bales, the final crop is stated to be very close to 13,000,000 bales, with some authorities exceeding this

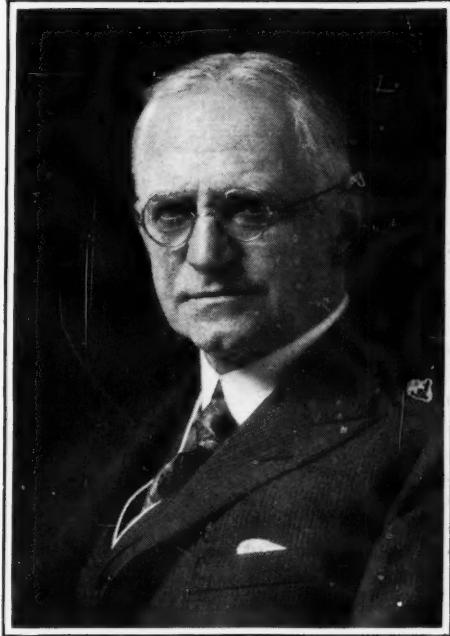


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**MR. JAMES BUCHANAN DUKE**  
(Who has made large gifts for education in North Carolina)

by 400,000. Along with this handsome production has come an increase in consumption that is holding the price up very agreeably to the planters. Europe has shown under-consumption of cotton goods for ten years. The better economic outlook abroad is already showing itself by an increase of cotton exports from this country amounting to half a billion bales above the movement of last year. One of the weakest situations in the industrial field in this country has been a continued paralysis of the textile mills. In July they were but 60 per cent. active, but by October were working to 85.4 per cent. capacity.

*Great Gifts for the Cause of Education* It is an encouraging sign that Americans of wealth show an increasing disposition to bestow their fortunes upon projects of education and philanthropy while they are still alive and able to see the results as well as to assist in adapting means to ends. Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Rockefeller have been our most conspicuous examples, but there are many others of like public spirit though of smaller wealth. Last month it was announced that Mr. James B. Duke had taken steps to create a great educational trust for



**MR. GEORGE EASTMAN, OF ROCHESTER, N. Y.**  
(Who gives generously to four institutions)

the particular benefit of his own native State of North Carolina. Mr. George Eastman of Rochester, N. Y., who has long been a benefactor of his city, has announced large additional contributions to the funds of Rochester University, while further increasing his munificent gifts to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and including Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes in his list of beneficiaries.

*Roosevelt Honored in Cuba* A notable event of December was the unveiling at Santiago, Cuba, of a monument in honor of Theodore Roosevelt, who led the Rough Riders up San Juan Hill in the Spanish War of 1898. Mrs. Roosevelt took part in the ceremony and General Harbord made the address of the occasion, having been selected by President Coolidge. President Zayas of Cuba and many high Cuban officials attended the ceremonies, with Ambassador Crowder and representative groups from the United States. The monument consists of a fine bust of heroic size by James Earle Fraser, with a granite background designed by the late Henry Bacon. On another page we reproduce a photograph of Mr. Fraser's work.



THE RED SQUARE, MOSCOW, ON THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

(In the foreground lies the temporary wooden tomb of Lenin, while Red Army troops are massed for review in the Square. War Minister Trotzky, who organized them, is now reported exiled)

## RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From November 15 to December 15, 1924)

### PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 1.—The second and final session of the Sixty-eighth Congress is opened.

Senator Curtis of Kansas, the new Republican majority leader, appoints Senator Wesley L. Jones (Rep., Wash.) as party whip.

December 2.—Both branches receive the President's budget message and annual estimates for federal public expenditure; the total for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1925, will be \$3,534,083,808, with a probable surplus of \$67,884,480.

The Senate passes the deficiency bill which failed in the last session; it carries \$180,000,000, mostly for Soldiers' Bonus and western irrigation projects.

December 3.—Both houses receive the President's annual message, and it is read by clerks, departing from the Wilson precedent of delivery in person; Mr. Coolidge opposes entry into the League and cancellation of war debts, while he favors tax reduction, economy in government, and the outlawing of war.

In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) is elected chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, succeeding the late Henry Cabot Lodge.

December 6.—In the House, the Agricultural appropriation bill is reported out of committee; the total is \$58,923,279 larger than for the current year, but \$3,750,000 below the estimate; \$80,000,000 is proposed for roads.

December 12.—The Senate debates the Underwood Muscle Shoals bill.

December 13.—The House Appropriations Committee reports the Naval bill, carrying a total of \$290,485,578, which is \$938,350 less than the budget and \$14,289,882 below last year.

### AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 15.—Chicago starts another war on gunmen, with 64 notorious characters arrested in one night following the funeral of an infamous gang leader.

November 16.—The water supply of Los Angeles is tapped and diverted into Owens River, Calif., by ranchers.

November 17.—The sixteenth annual conference of Governors is held at Jacksonville, Fla.

November 18. The Panama Canal reports its most prosperous year, with net revenue of \$17,209,572; the Panama Railroad earns a net profit of \$1,004,887.

John Van MacMurray is selected as Assistant Secretary of State; he has been chief of the Far Eastern Division.

November 19.—President Coolidge addresses the National Conference on Utilization of Forest Products, warning of impending timber exhaustion and making a plea for scientific reforestation and

conservation; with 745,000,000,000 cubic feet of timber, we use 25,000,000,000 a year and grow only 6,000,000,000.

November 20.—The Los Angeles water supply is replenished by Owens River ranchers after agreement on disputed points.

November 22.—Howard M. Gore is appointed Secretary of Agriculture, succeeding Henry C. Wallace, deceased; Mr. Gore has been Acting Secretary and is Governor-elect of West Virginia, an office he assumes on March 4, 1925.

The annual report of Secretary Wilbur for the Navy Department recommends modernization of the six older battleships to maintain the treaty ratio; extension of Pacific base facilities, and maintenance of the Pacific fleet are endorsed.

November 24.—In Iowa, Senator Brookhart is declared elected by 755 votes over Daniel F. Steck; the figures are, Brookhart, 447,706; Steck, 446,951.

At Chicago, the trial of Col. Charles R. Forbes, former head of the Veterans' Bureau, is begun under indictment for conspiracy to defraud the Government.

In Connecticut, Governor-elect Hiram Bingham is nominated by the Republican convention for United States Senator, while the Democrats name Hamilton Holt, editor and peace-league advocate; a special election will be held December 16, to fill the seat of the late Senator Brandegee.

November 27.—The Department of Commerce annual report is published by Secretary Hoover; it makes a special plea for elimination of waste in industry.

November 28.—Senators La Follette, Ladd, Brookhart, and Frazier, all nominally Republicans, are read out of the party for their Progressive activities, by a conference of 34 Republican Senators; 17 do not attend; Senator Curtis is elected Floor Leader, succeeding the late Henry Cabot Lodge.

November 29.—William J. Fahy, a former postal inspector, and James Murray, a Chicago politician, are sentenced to 25 years each in the Atlanta federal penitentiary for the \$2,000,000 Rondout, Ill., train mail robbery last June.

Secretary Weeks submits his annual report for the War Department, urging a ten-year program, with an immediate increase of officers from 12,000 to 13,000 and of enlisted men from 125,000 to 150,000.

The Veterans' Bureau appoints six regional managers, as follows: Charles W. Hubelson, of Idaho; Orville G. Fairburn, of Washington; M. J. Shortley, of Pennsylvania; Dr. Frank T. Duffy, of Illinois; Malcolm L. Stoddard, of Maine; and Herbert H. Rouse, of New Hampshire.

November 30.—Governor Smith of New York appoints Supreme Court Justice John V. McAvoy to conduct an inquiry into the New York City transit situation and to report the facts to him; the step is interpreted as a definite break between Mayor Hylan and Governor Smith, with Mr. William R. Hearst behind the Mayor and Tammany Hall backing the Governor.

Postmaster General New reports increased revenues \$40,120,853 over 1923 (or 7.53 per cent.), with a total revenue of \$572,948,778; the annual deficit is reduced \$9,601,227 from last year, to \$14,428,137.

The annual report of the Shipping Board recommends that Congress adopt a policy for a permanent merchant marine "commensurate with the needs

of the country from the standpoint of commerce and national defense."

December 1.—The annual report of the Interior Department is made by Secretary Work, who recommends the creation of a permanent federal oil commission, department reorganization, and improvement in administration of island possessions; the administration of Hawaii and Alaska under a separate department is suggested.

December 3.—President Coolidge travels to Chicago on a regular train in a compartment car, at a saving of \$1700.

December 4.—Nine policemen, including a captain and two lieutenants, are arrested at Jersey City, charged with conspiracy to violate the State prohibition-enforcement law.

Secretary Mellon's annual report for the Treasury Department pleads for reduction of high surtax rates, recommending a 25 per cent. maximum on incomes \$300,000 and over, downward revision of estate taxes, repeal of income-tax publicity, and reconsideration of gift taxes; federal expenditures have been reduced from \$6,500,000,000 in 1920 to \$3,500,000,000 in 1924, taxes from \$54 per capita to \$27.

President Coolidge speaks at Chicago, Ill., dealing with farm economics and international unity in a speech before the Commercial Club, while before the International Live Stock Exposition he elaborates on agricultural problems and the work of the new Farm Board.

Attorney-General Stone in his annual report for the Department of Justice comments on the 33 per cent. increase since 1920 and the 500 per cent. increase since 1912 of criminal prosecutions in federal courts; civil suits have doubled since 1920.

Col. M. L. Walker is named as Governor of the Panama Canal.

December 5.—A New Jersey grand jury indicts twelve men for conspiracy in landing \$50,000,000 of liquor under police protection on the docks at Weehawken, N. J.

The Tri-State Delaware Treaty Commission drafts an agreement at Atlantic City regarding use of water from the Delaware River; New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York are the three States.

December 6.—Secretary Mellon reports to the Speaker of the House tax refunds amounting to \$137,006,225 to 192,252 taxpayers.

December 7.—The Department of Agriculture report of the late Secretary Wallace is submitted by Secretary Gore; it reveals a farm income of \$12,000,000,000 for the year, a gain of \$500,000,000 over 1923.

December 9.—Secretary Wilbur submits to Congress an outline of steps necessary to modernize battleships and restore the navy from the present 5-4-3 basis to the treaty ratio of 5-5-3; he urges construction of scout cruisers, fleet submarines, destroyer leaders, and aircraft carriers.

In a test suit by the Government on the question of newspaper publicity of income tax returns, Judge John C. Knox of the Federal District Court directs the jury to acquit the *New York Herald Tribune*.

Brig.-Gen. Smedley D. Butler's leave of absence is extended for a year by President Coolidge so that the officer may continue to head Philadelphia's police force; but the President warns Mayor Kendrick that his problem is local and says if Philadel-

phia is "not content to take General Butler ex-Washington, I suggest you release him."

December 10.—The Interstate Commerce Commission approves acquisition of the New Orleans, Texas and Mexico Railway by the Missouri Pacific Railroad, but criticizes underwriting fees of \$1,000,000 as excessive.

December 12.—The Federal soldier bonus, it is announced, has been applied for by 1,785,000 out of 4,051,605 and refused by 64 veterans, in New York State, \$34,000,000 of the \$45,000,000 authorized State bonus has been paid.

The LaFollette Progressive party calls a convention to be held at Chicago on February 25.

December 13.—The Supreme Court of Ontario, Canada, decides that Henry Smith Osler, a witness in the United States Government case against Albert B. Fall and Harry Sinclair, must testify before U. S. Consul Shantz at Toronto; Osler is in Africa, hunting elephants.

#### FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 15.—The Italian Chamber, after four days of debate, votes confidence in Premier Mussolini's foreign policy, 315 to 6.

November 16.—Zaghlul Pasha, Premier of Egypt, withdraws his resignation at the request of King Fuad.

November 18.—The Austrian Cabinet of Premier Seipel is succeeded by one formed by Dr. Rudolph Ramek, of Salzburg; Heinrich Mataja becomes Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Grabski Cabinet in Poland is reorganized, with the radical Stanislas Trugutt as Vice-President.

The French Senate grants amnesty to former Premier Joseph Caillaux, and former Minister of Interior Malvy; Caillaux was convicted of intrigues, sentenced to prison and restricted residence, and deprived of civil rights for ten years.

November 21.—The French Parliament authorizes a Government loan of \$100,000,000 in America.

November 22.—In Portugal, Dominguez Santos heads a new Cabinet, succeeding Premier Gaspard.

Ismet Pasha, Prime Minister of Turkey, resigns because of ill health; he will be succeeded by Fethi Bey.

November 24.—China inaugurates Tuan Chi-jui as Chief Executive (Dictator); he was formerly Premier and leader of the Anfu or military party.

November 27.—Gen. Italo Balbo resigns as head of the Italian Fascist militia.

November 28.—Premier Herriot receives a vote of confidence, 299 to 246, the lowest majority yet accorded him.

The French Cabinet approves for ratification the protocol of the League covering pacific settlement of disputes.

November 29.—Hsuan Tung, former Emperor of China, takes refuge at Peking in the Japanese Legation.

November 30.—Plutarco Elias Calles is inaugurated President of Mexico, succeeding General Obregon.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen, former head of the South China Government at Canton, speaking at Tokio, urges that all Asia free itself of western domination.

December 1.—In Reval, Estonia, a Communist revolt is suppressed in a few hours with a loss of

19 killed and 40 wounded; General Laidoner, the new army chief, takes command under martial law passed by an extraordinary session of Parliament.

December 2.—The new British Parliament assembles under the second Baldwin Ministry and re-elects J. H. Whitely as speaker.

December 4.—Soviet Russia abandons prohibition by a decree permitting manufacture and sale of liquors up to 30 per cent. alcoholic content; M. Djerjinsky, head of the Supreme Economic Council, announces a more liberal policy regarding private property and capital and foreign loans.

December 6.—In France, 300 Communists are arrested, including 70 foreign agitators; Premier Herriot (after officially receiving the first Ambassador from Soviet Russia) declares in the Chamber of Deputies that the Government "will defend the democratic republic against both the Clerical peril and the Communist peril which are threatening it in opposite directions but with the same methods of agitation."

December 7.—The German Reichstag elections result in seating 129 Social Democrats, 104 Nationalists, 67 Centrists (Clericals), 50 People's Partyists, 44 Communists, 31 Democrats, with 59 scattering.

France deports 60 alien Communist agitators, most of whom are Italian.

December 9.—The British Parliament is formally opened by King George with the speech from the throne, which praises steps taken in Egypt and advocates building the naval base at Hongkong.

Dr. Michael Hainisch is re-elected President of the Austrian Confederation, Socialists not voting.

December 10.—The Estonian President and Prime Minister, Dr. Akel, resigns because of illness.

December 12.—The House of Commons refuses, 176 to 37, to permit the ban against immigration to lapse.

In Soviet Russia, War Minister Trotzky is reported exiled because of disagreement with the Central Committee; but the official announcement is that he leaves for the Caucasus for his health.

December 13.—The Chilean Cabinet resigns.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

November 15.—The Mexican State of Lower California cancels Japanese fishing rights, declaring that the Japanese have violated the terms of the concessions.

Spanish troops are withdrawn from the entire Wad-Lau River region in Morocco.

November 16.—Two Mexicans are sentenced to death for the murder of Mrs. Rosalie Evans, the American-born wife of a British citizen.

Agent General Gilbert reports that German reparations payments in September and October amount to 170,000,000 gold marks, of which 143,000,000 were reported by creditor states.

November 17.—The new American Ambassador to Japan, Edgar Addison Bancroft, is welcomed at Tokio.

November 21.—Austen Chamberlain, Foreign Secretary for Great Britain, denounces the two MacDonald treaties with Soviet Russia and replies to the Russian note suggesting the Zinovieff letter was a forgery by berating Moscow for failure to check propaganda of the Communist Internationale; the treaties will not be ratified.

November 22.—General John J. Pershing and the Hon. Frederick C. Hicks leave New York on the battleship *Utah* for Peru to represent the United States, with Rear-Admiral John H. Dayton, at the centennial of the battle of Ayacucho in Lima on December 9.

November 25.—The League Secretariat notifies its members and the United States that on November 27 the simplified customs formalities recently negotiated will take effect; the agreement was signed by 34 countries and ratified by seven.

December 2.—A trade treaty between Great Britain and Germany is signed at London, after weeks of negotiation.

December 3.—The League of Nations Council appoints as chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission Charles P. Howland, of New York, who succeeds Henry Morgenthau, resigned.

December 4.—Leonid Krassin, new Russian Soviet Ambassador to France, arrives at Paris.

December 5.—The British Foreign Minister, Austen Chamberlain, confers in secret at Paris with Premier Herriot; some form of the Entente Cordial is thought to have been revived.

December 8.—The Council of the League of nations opens its thirty-second session at Rome; Austen Chamberlain demands removal of the Geneva protocol for disarmament and security from the agenda; Spain is the sixteenth country to sign the protocol; international health is to be fostered by continuing to combat malaria and sleeping sickness.

December 9.—The British Foreign Office, in a note to the United States, objects to American collection of war claims totaling more than \$300,000,000 from Reparation Commission collections; this does not affect the \$250,000,000 army-of-occupation costs.

The United States accepts the League invitation to attend a disarmament conference at Geneva.

The League Council formally postpones consideration of the protocol recently concluded at Geneva; it decides to convoke the Committee of Coördination on February 6, to plan the arms conference.

The provisional government in China is recognized *de facto* by the Peking envoys of seven powers—United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Japan, and the Netherlands.

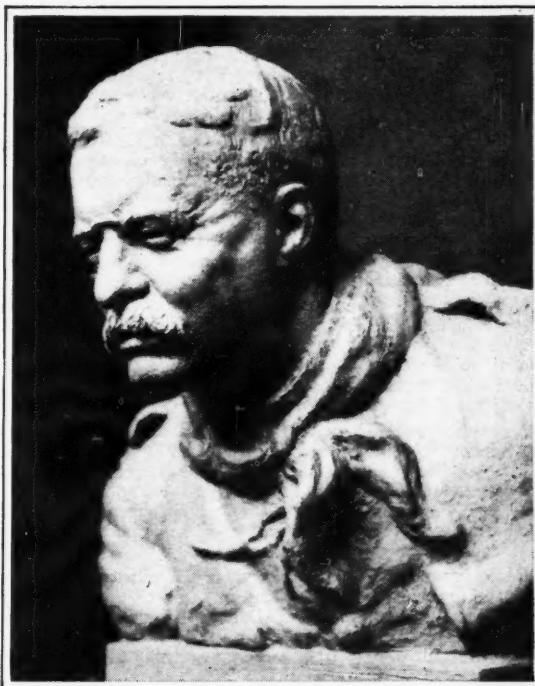
December 10.—In the House of Commons, Chancellor Churchill declares that "any payment made by our debtors in Europe to their creditors in the United States should be accompanied by proportionate payment to Britain."

The League Council receives the report of the Mandates Commission, criticizing Zionist immigration from Eastern Europe as more zealous than fit for the arduous work of reclaiming Palestine.

Timothy A. Smiddy, Minister from the Irish Free State, returns to his post in America with optimistic reports of the progress of Ireland.

Baron Ago von Maltzan is appointed German Ambassador to the United States.

December 12.—The United States note in reply to Britain's protest fails to see any reason for submitting American claims against Germany to an



THE ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL AT SANTIAGO DE CUBA

(On the road to San Juan Hill, impressive ceremonies were held at the unveiling by Mrs. Roosevelt, on December 14, of this memorial bust by James Earle Fraser, with a background of granite designed by the late Henry Bacon. Over the bust, in Spanish, a Roosevelt quotation reads: "Only those are fit to live who do not fear to die")

damage international court of arbitration and reiterates its stand for payment from reparations.

The League Council, meeting at Rome, forms an Advisory Committee for Codification of International Law, with Dr. K. H. L. Hammarskjold, of Sweden, as chairman, and composed of the most noted jurists of the world; George W. Wickersham is American representative.

The new Greek Minister to the United States, Mr. C. Simopoulos, presents his credentials to President Coolidge, thus resuming diplomatic relations allowed to lapse in November, 1920.

December 13.—Britain requests the League Council not to recognize as capable of being registered under the Covenant the treaty with Ireland, because it is not regarded as international; the treaty, however, already is registered.

December 14.—The German Government levies on private railways and tramways 17.1 per cent. of the 5,000,000,000 gold mark industrial loan; each of the various companies must give a first mortgage for its share of the obligation.

#### THE OPIUM CONFERENCES

November 15.—The conference on Far Eastern narcotic problems, in session at Geneva, breaks into acrimonious charges and counter-charges.

November 16.—The Far Eastern conference (limited to opium-producing countries, and known as

the "first" conference) is reported to have failed of agreement, owing to Japanese resentment over British discrimination against Japanese import certificates; Sir Malcolm Delevigne (Br.) refers to scandals regarding diversion of narcotics while in transit under Japanese import certificates.

November 17.—The International Opium Conference opens, in the palace of the League of Nations at Geneva, with American delegates in attendance; and Herluf Zahle, of Denmark, is elected president; Stephen G. Porter (Am.) strikes out at once for progressive limitation of the production of raw opium and reduction of domestic narcotics to medical and scientific requirements.

November 19.—The American delegation proposes complete prohibition of heroin and of all surplus raw opium and coca leaf, with a progressive annual 10 per cent. reduction in imports of raw opium for manufacture in countries where use for smoking is still permitted.

November 24.—On motion of Mr. Porter, 26 nations vote to make the meetings public; England, France, India, Italy, Holland, Portugal, Greece, and Switzerland abstain from voting; Japan accepts American points for suppressing heroin and England agrees in principle to recognize Japanese import certificates for trans-shipment at Hongkong.

December 1.—The conference votes 26 to 1 to refer the problem of opium eating in India to the First Commission; Australia, Bolivia, England, France, Greece, Holland, Portugal, Yugoslavia and Turkey abstain from voting, while India votes the minority.

December 5.—The first opium conference, confined to opium-producing countries, finishes its work, except for formal signing of the agreement.

December 6.—Bishop Brent, of the American delegation, expresses dissatisfaction with the "insufficiency" of the first opium conference.

December 9.—Switzerland refuses to accept the American proposal for a central board of control to check consumption of manufactured narcotics; France and the Netherlands have argued against submitting estimates of consumption in advance.

December 10.—The Japanese delegate to the Far Eastern conference, M. Sugimura, withdraws after an extended effort to find a compromise solution of its disagreements.

December 12.—The American delegation insists upon adoption of Paragraph 8, Article 2, for suppression of opium by a reduction of 10 per cent. a year in importations; it is opposed by Holland, England, India, France, and Portugal; but Uruguay, Brazil and China support the American position.

December 13.—Chile, Poland, Venezuela, Bolivia, Cuba, Egypt, Italy, and the Dominican Republic add their support to the American program; Spain joins the opposition.

#### THE EGYPTIAN AFFAIR

November 19.—Sir Lee Stack is assassinated in the streets of Cairo by a gang of Egyptian Nationalists; he was Governor-General of the Sudan, and Sirdar (or commander-in-chief) of the Egyptian army.

November 22.—The British Government demands of Egypt within twenty-four hours an apology and £500,000 indemnity for the murder of Sir Lee Stack, withdrawal of all Egyptian soldiers from the Sudan, and an unlimited increase of the irri-

gated area at Gezira on the Upper Nile; the note insists upon enforcing British measures for protecting foreigners.

November 23.—The Egyptian Government agrees to comply with the British ultimatum as to investigation, indemnification, and apology; responsibility for the assassination is denied; evacuation of the Sudan and other points are held to be matters for diplomatic settlement. . . . Lord Allenby, at Cairo, replies immediately that orders have been issued to evacuate Egyptian troops from the Sudan and to increase the irrigated area "as need may arise"; 300,000 feddans (approximately an acre each) are already irrigated.

November 24.—British troops seize the Egyptian custom house at Alexandria; Lord Allenby, British High Commissioner for Egypt, receives a check for the Stack indemnity. . . . Premier Zaghlul Pasha resigns and is succeeded by Ahmed Ziwar Pasha, and Parliament is suspended for a month.

November 26.—The League of Nations secretariat votes not to distribute a protest received from the Egyptian Chamber of Deputies against British demands; copies of the protest appear, however, to have been sent from Egypt to all the parliaments of the world.

November 27.—British authorities in Egypt arrest Mahmud Nekrashy Effendi, William Makram Obeid Effendi, Abdur Rahman Fahmy Bey, and Barakat Pasha, former Minister of Interior.

November 28.—In Khartum, two companies of Sudanese native troops mutiny and kill three physicians in capturing the hospital; the rest of the battalion assists in suppressing the revolt, caused by withdrawal of Egyptian officers. . . . Thirty-five persons are arrested at Cairo by Egyptian civil authorities, and the British military police turn over their recent prisoners for prosecution under Egyptian law.

November 29.—The Khartum mutiny is suppressed with a British loss of two officers and eight men.

November 30.—The Egyptian Premier, Ahmed Ziwar Pasha, accepts the remaining British terms.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

November 16.—Jersey City, N. J., suffers its second waterfront fire within three days; no lives are lost, but two piers, 14 barges, quantities of railroad freight, a warehouse, and several square blocks of tenements and lofts are ruined, with an estimated loss of \$3,000,000.

November 17.—The hotels Bothwell and Senator in Atlantic City are destroyed by fire.

The American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society acquires title to Hamilton Grange, at Convent Avenue and 141st Street, New York City, where Alexander Hamilton lived when he went to his duel with Burr.

The American Federation of Labor and the Mexican Confederation of Labor hold their first joint session at El Paso, Texas.

November 20.—In Brussels, the cornerstone is laid for new buildings of the University of Brussels.

The Castleton cut-off is opened by the New York Central Railroad near Albany to eliminate grades and permit easier handling of through freight; the yard space added will hold 10,000 cars and the cost of the project was \$25,000,000.

November 24.—The partly built super-dreadnought *Washington* is destroyed by 14-inch gun fire from the U. S. S. *Texas*, under provisions of the naval limitation treaty.

November 25.—Yale University announces receipt of a \$1,000,000 gift from Edward S. Harkness for a Department of Dramatic Art, which will be headed by Prof. George Pierce Baker, recently of Harvard.

The German-built airship *ZR-3* is rechristened the *Los Angeles* by Mrs. Calvin Coolidge.

November 29. William S. Silkworth, former president of the Consolidated Stock Exchange, is convicted of using the mails to defraud.

Two ordinary automobiles succeed in crossing the Sahara Desert on pneumatic tires; six-wheel cars crossed recently.

November 30.—The Radio Corporation of America sends photographs by radio from London to New York in twenty minutes; the pictures are reproduced in newspapers at New York and compare favorably with ordinary reproductions.

December 4.—Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (Lord Robert Cecil) is awarded the first annual \$25,000 prize of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation "for meritorious service of a public character tending to the establishment of peace through justice."

December 8.—George Eastman, of Rochester, gives \$12,500,000 to higher educational institutions, bringing the total of his known public gifts for philanthropic purposes to \$58,602,000.

James Buchanan Duke, of Charlotte, N. C., announces creation of a trust fund of \$40,000,000 to enlarge or found a university in North Carolina and for hospitals and other philanthropies.

December 9.—The Federal Council of Churches adjourns its fifth quadrennial meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, after voting for greater fellowship among the churches of America and nations and races, recommending "drastic reduction" of armaments, outlawing of war, and peaceful settlement of international disputes.

December 14.—At Santiago de Cuba, the memorial monument to Col. Theodore Roosevelt is dedicated near San Juan Hill by Mrs. Roosevelt, the widow of the late President (see page 21).

#### OBITUARY

November 16.—Gustav J. Karger, journalist, of Washington, D. C., 58. . . . Edward E. Rice, one-time theatrical producer.

November 17.—Mgr. Gregorius, Ecumenical Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church. . . . Dr. Perry Schurtz, surgeon, of Grand Rapids, Mich., 68. . . . James Brown Paine, Rhode Island, banker, 96. . . . Ernst von Heydebrand, former Prussian Conservative leader, 74.

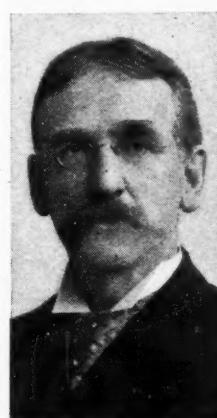
November 18.—Ambrose N. McKay, Salt Lake City publisher, 56. . . . Mother General Regina, of the Dominican Order of Nuns. . . . Edward Richardson Caldwell, newspaper editor. . . . Nanie Lee Fraysier, Louisville, Ky., lecturer.

November 19.—Thomas Harper Ince, motion picture producer, 44. . . . Lewis Emery, Jr., Pennsylvania independent politician, 85. . . . Prof. Courtney Langdon, Brown University linguist, 63. . . . Dr. Alexander W. MacCoy, Philadelphia throat specialist, 77. . . . Michael,

Cardinal Logue, Primate of all Ireland, 83. . . . George W. Plunkitt, a Tammany leader who defended "honest graft," 82. . . . H. G. Heggeveit, Norwegian journalist and church historian, 73.

November 20.—Mrs. Florence Kling Harding, 64. . . . Joseph Ury Crawford, of Philadelphia, consulting engineer and railway expert, 70. . . . Harry V. Baldwin, Philadelphia editor, 58.

November 21.—Rev. Stephen M. Newman, D.D., former president of Howard University, Washington, D. C., 79. . . . Alfred Hulse Brooks, of the U. S. Geological Survey, 53. . . . Miss Annie R. Morton, Presbyterian missionary to China. . . . Dr. Theodore Rethers, San Francisco surgeon.



DR. S. M. NEWMAN

(For twenty-one years pastor of the First Congregational Church, Washington, D. C., and later president of Howard University)

New York City, 49. . . . Henry Groves Connor, U. S. District Judge in North Carolina, 74. . . . Henry A. M. Smith, South Carolina District Judge, 72. . . . Dr. Carlos Duran, former President of Costa Rica.

November 24.—Charles Steffins Fairchild, Secretary of the Treasury, 1887-89, under Grover Cleveland, 82.

November 25.—Frederick H. Bugher, former police commissioner of Henry Schaeffer, former president of New York Cotton Exchange, 67. . . . Mgr. J. J. Steven, Roman Catholic Vicar-General of St. Paul, Minn., 69.

November 27.—Dr. Walter Elmore Fernald, Massachusetts psychiatrist, 63. . . . Henry Adelbert Wellington FirzRoy Somerset, ninth Duke of Beaufort, 77.

November 28.—Emil Henry Lacombe, former Circuit Court Judge, 79. . . . John Lyell Harper, hydro-electric engineer, 51. . . . Major William G. Allen, Tennessee Confederate Veteran, 87.

November 29.—Giacomo Puccini, noted Italian operatic composer, 66. . . . Dr. John B. Roberts, noted Philadelphia surgeon and author, 72.

December 1.—William Thomson, publisher and well-known Presbyterian, 62

December 2.—Arthur Ignatius Keller, artist, illustrator, 57. . . . Dr. William Stickney, Vermont surgeon, 46.

December 3.—Dr. Rudolph Menn, surgeon, of Chicago.

December 4.—James Carruthers Greenough, former president of Massachusetts Agricultural College, 95.

December 5.—Antonio Corsi, widely known artists' model, 56. . . . General Cipriano Castro,



THE LATE SAMUEL GOMPERS

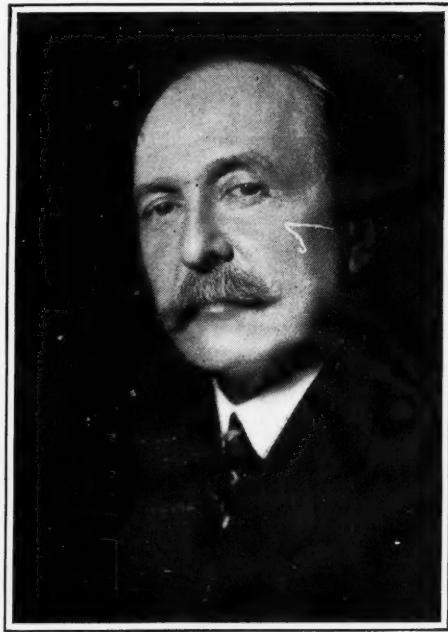
(With the exception of a single year, 1895, Mr. Gompers had served as president of the American Federation of Labor since he helped to found it in 1886. He was a cigarmaker by trade. As head of union labor in the United States, Mr. Gompers developed great ability as an executive, editor, and orator. His aid was sought by the Government, and always available, on many occasions during the war and afterward. He was born in England in 1850 and died in San Antonio on December 13, at the age of seventy-four)

former Venezuelan dictator, 66. . . . Frank T. Tripp, of Highland Falls, N. Y., newspaper publisher, 75.

December 6.—Mrs. Gene Stratton Porter, novelist, 56. . . . Theron G. Strong, lawyer and author, 78.

December 7.—William Charles Reick, newspaper publisher, 60. . . . J. C. McKinney, Pennsylvania oil magnate, 80.

December 8.—Xavier Scharwenka, German pianist and composer, 75. . . . The Rev. Joseph J. Prendergast, S. J., professor at Holy Cross College. . . . The Rev. Arthur Newman, well-known Presbyterian, of Long Island, N. Y., 71. . . . Dr. Ezra Brainerd, former president of Middlebury College, Vt., botanist and author, 80. . . . Mrs. Georgiana



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THE LATE AUGUST BELMONT

(The vast system of rapid-transit subways in New York City is a monument to the foresight and financial genius of Mr. Belmont. Just twenty years ago the first subway was opened, the banker having supported the project to the extent of \$35,000,000. Mr. Belmont was chairman of the board of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, a leader in the work of the National Civic Federation, principal backer of Judge Parker in the 1904 campaign, a noted lover of horses and patron of opera. He died suddenly at New York on December 10, at the age of seventy one)

King Lewis, English Quaker author and philanthropist.

December 9.—Mahlon Pitney, former Supreme Court Justice, 66. . . . Oscar Gareissen, of Rochester, N. Y., vocal music teacher and community chorister.

December 10.—August Belmont, financier and New York traction magnate, 71. . . . George Washington Norton, of Louisville, Ky., financier, 59.

December 12.—Walter E. Harrington, consulting electrical engineer, 58.

December 13.—Samuel Gompers, president of American Federation of Labor for over forty years, 74.

December 14.—Martin H. Glynn, former Governor of New York, and newspaper editor, 43. . . . William Van Anden Hester, publisher of the Brooklyn *Eagle*, 66.



# THE TURN OF THE YEAR IN CARTOONS



LET'S GO!

From the *Evening World* © (New York)



**YOU CAN'T PLEASE EVERYBODY**

From the *Evening Post* (New York)

**WITH** the election over, and almost forgotten, current political comment as expressed in cartoon centers once more

in the work of Congress. This is the second or "short" session of the old Senate and House, which adjourned last June.



## WHAT WILL THE HARVEST BE?

From the *Constitution* (Atlanta, Ga.)



#### **ANOTHER MESSAGE TO CONGRESS**

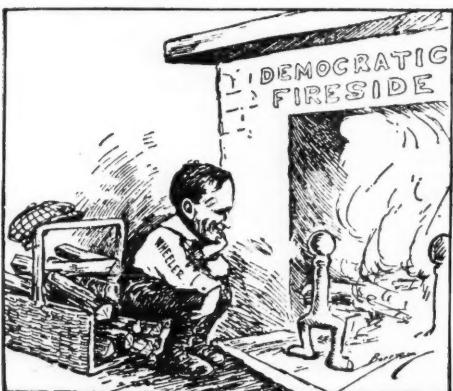
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia, Pa.)



LEAVING THE OLD REPUBLICAN HOMESTEAD

From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

'YOU ARE NO LONGER CHILDREN OF MINE!!'

From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, Mo.)

NOT VICE-PRESIDENT, AND STILL A DEMOCRAT

From the *Star* (Washington, D. C.)

[Four Republican Senators who actively supported an opposition ticket in the last campaign were dropped from the party rolls; but Senator Wheeler's standing in the Democratic party has not been questioned.]



DOCTOR COOLIDGE PRESCRIBES

From the *Sun* (Baltimore, Md.)

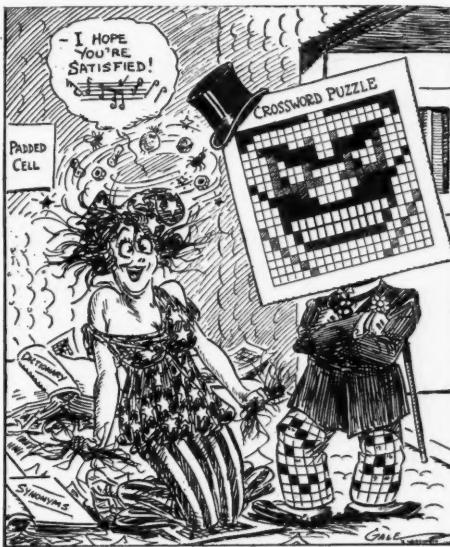
DIFFERENT IDEAS REGARDING A WAY TO HELP HUMANITY

By Murphy, in the *Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle, Wash.)



**SEVEN-LEAGUE BOOTS**  
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City, N. J.)

The turn of the year finds this country riding on a wave of general prosperity, still favored among the nations of the world. "Optimism" and "confidence" are the seven-league boots; and the only dark cloud on the horizon is the stock promoter, who finds it a favorable moment to try his tricky schemes. No small share of this nation-



**"YOU MADE ME WHAT I AM TO-DAY"**  
From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)

wide confidence is due to faith in the occupant of the White House for the next four years, who no longer is merely the executor of his predecessor. The Coolidge administration began on the 4th of November, without waiting for the 4th of March.



**"HOLD ON THERE, SONNY!"**  
From the *Democrat & Chronicle* (Rochester, N. Y.)  
[Will the rise in security prices bring disaster?]

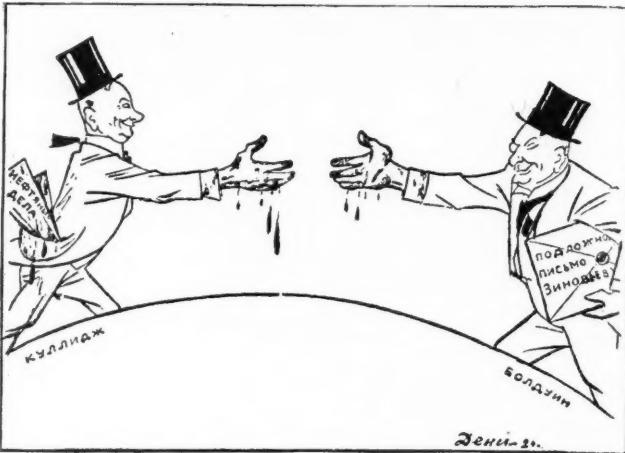


**HANGING OUT HIS OWN SHINGLE**  
From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



**THE MAN WITH A CZAR IN HIS HEAD**

From *Izvestia* (Moscow, Russia)  
(The man is President Coolidge, and the czar is Mr. J. P. Morgan)



**HANDS ACROSS THE SEA**

From *Pravda* (Moscow, Russia)

(President Coolidge and Premier Baldwin congratulate each other after the elections. Oil stains are on the President's hand, while that of the new British Premier is smeared with the "false" Zinoviev letter which played so important a part in MacDonald's downfall)

On these facing pages the reader will find reproductions of a number of cartoons that have appeared in Russian newspapers within the past few weeks. Two of these

reflect current Soviet opinion of the American President, and two others relate to Secretary Hughes, who has consistently opposed recognition of their government.



**MR. HUGHES READS THE NEWS THAT FRANCE HAS RECOGNIZED RUSSIA**

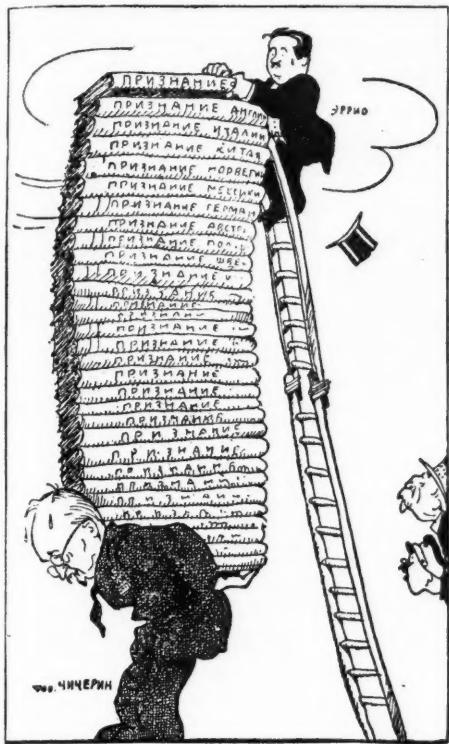
From *Pravda* (Moscow, Russia)



**MR. HUGHES AT WORK**

(The initials are those of the Russian Soviet Union)

From *Pravda* (Moscow, Russia)



FRANCE RECOGNIZES RUSSIA

From *Izvestia* (Moscow, Russia)  
(Chicherin, Soviet Foreign Minister, who holds the pile, adds to his collection, while Uncle Sam and the Jap look on)



THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR ARRIVES AT PARIS

"One thing more . . . Would you be able to show me an apartment for the propaganda?"

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



IN GERMANY

THE WORLD FINANCIERS (to the German workman): "Pay up!"  
From *Pravda* (Moscow, Russia)



THAT BRITISH LOAN TO BOLSHEVISM

(All that he is likely to get now)

From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)



"He is rich and you are poor."



"You ought to be both alike."

THE COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATES SOCIAL EQUALITY—From *Rul* (Berlin, Germany)



PAINTING THE WHOLE WORLD RED

From *Nichi Nichi* (Tokyo, Japan)

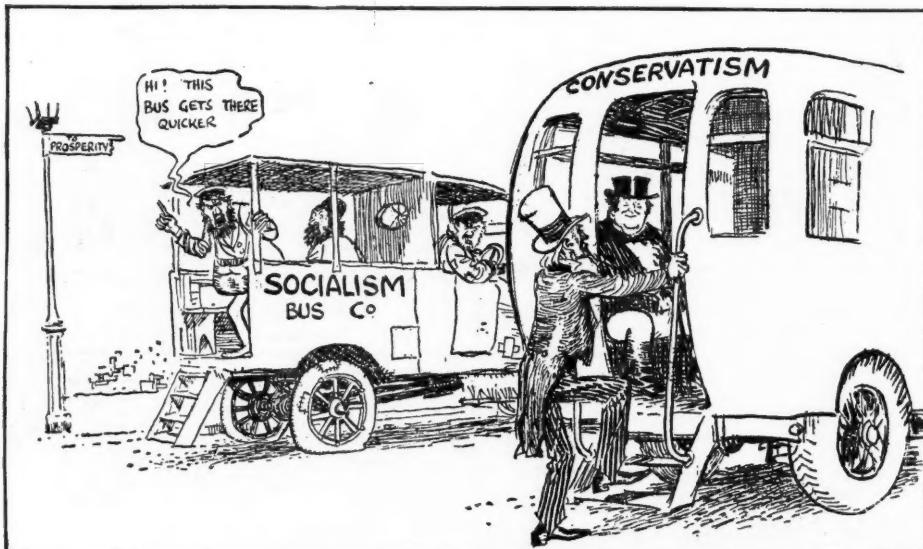
[A Japanese cartoon which intimates that Bolshevik or Red propaganda follows wherever formal recognition is accorded to the Soviet government. Japan and the United States are noted by the cartoonist as not yet covered by the painter's brush]



UNCLE SAM REWARDS MR. COOLIDGE

From *Miyako* (Tokyo, Japan)

[The expulsion of President Tsao-kun in China, the election of President Coolidge, and the defeat of Premier MacDonald in Great Britain are all pictured as important events, occurring at about the same time, of especial significance to Japan]



THE SAFE ROUTE—UNCLE SAM IS TAKING NO RISKS

From the *Western Mail* (Cardiff, Wales)

[The presidential election in the United States came six days after the parliamentary election in Great Britain; and this newspaper, interpreting the Coolidge victory, pictures Uncle Sam as entering the Conservative bus already selected by John Bull]



UNCLE SAM AND THE ZEPPELIN

FRENCHMAN: "Naturally you don't fear them. You are 40,000 kilometers away, and you have forty stories above your basement."

From *Le Petit Bleu* (Paris, France)



THE EMPTY ZEPPELIN FACTORY

UNCLE SAM (to France and Germany): "Squabble now to your heart's content, I have got what I wanted!"

From *Nebelspatter* (Zurich, Switzerland)

[Both cartoons reproduced above relate to the peace-treaty provision that Germany shall dismantle the Zeppelin works at Friedrichshafen, on Lake Constance. When the Zeppelin being built for the United States was completed and delivered, Germany seemed to be without excuse for further delay, and the French government prepared to enforce the agreement]



FAIR WEATHER AHEAD

(A result of the election of conservatives in Britain and America)

From *Opinion* (London, England)



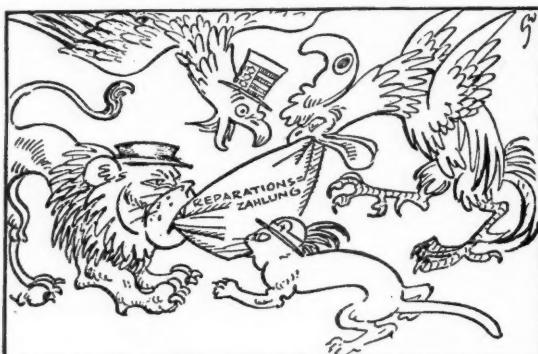
AMERICA, GERMANY, AND THE ZEPPELIN

(The couple had long been separated, but the child has brought them together again)

From *Lustige Blaetter* (Berlin, Germany)



**JOHN BULL SELECTS A SAFE SEAT**  
From the *Chronicle* (Manchester, England)



**THE MEETING OF THE CREDITORS**  
(The United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy fight for shares in Germany's reparation payments, now forthcoming under the Dawes plan)  
From *Magdeburgische Zeitung* (Magdeburg, Germany)



**VICTOR BALDWIN!**  
From *Karikaturen* (Christiania, Norway)

[The Baldwin pipe is as famous in Europe as the Dawes pipe is in the United States. Britain's Premier, overwhelmingly successful in the parliamentary election, rides his chariot over his opponents—MacDonald, Lloyd-George, and Asquith—in this cartoon from a Norwegian paper]



**BEATEN, BUT NOT DISHEARTENED**  
BRITISH LABOR: "One million more votes! I never felt better!"  
From *Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



**TWO LOVELY BLACK EYES FOR SOCIALISM**  
From the *Evening News* (London, England)

# EUROPE'S BEST YEAR

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

## I. THE YEAR END

WHILE the past month has been marked by an unusual number of interesting and important events—the German election, the Egyptian affair, Franco-American debt conversations and the decision of the British Government as to the Protocol and the proposed Treaty with Russia, all of which I shall discuss presently—the fact that it marks the end of a year makes it a convenient point at which, briefly, to look backward over the past twelve months.

Such a review, too, has the advantage that it brings compactly to our attention the circumstances, vaguely perceived in passing, which in sum make 1924 beyond debate the best year for Europe and for the world since the outbreak of the great struggle. With what must hereafter seem to the historian an almost inexplicable suddenness, affairs which had become desperate and at least superficially hopeless, began to move not slowly but with astounding rapidity toward a solution more fortunate than the optimist had dared forecast a few months before.

In retrospect one must see 1923 as the Year of the Ruhr, of the collapse of all previous efforts to compose the grievous problem of Reparations and the ultimate effort to settle it by a resort to force. In a sense 1923 resembles 1918, for in both years crises long protracted suddenly took on a new appearance. Germany seeking finally to escape from the ever-growing burdens undertook her last fatal offensives which led through opening triumph to final defeat. And, in the same way, in 1923, France driven by necessity moved to end the long struggle over the Reparations by a supreme effort and an unmistakable revelation of strength.

We had then, in the midsummer of 1918, the final agony of the war, when the hope of peace and the prospect of victory were alike adjourned, and in the summer of 1923 we had a well-nigh similar condition, when the whole fabric of European economic and

political existence seemed endangered and the German fiscal and industrial organizations were coming down in ruins.

But 1924, like the latter half of 1918, has been the period of solutions—not solutions in the sense of permanent settlements of great problems, perhaps, but solutions in the sense that for the impossible methods of force and of resistance, passive to be sure, practised by France and by Germany, there have been substituted other methods, the methods of the Dawes Plan, and Europe, which seemed in 1923 on the edge of another upheaval, which was ravaged by the recrudescence of old passions and cursed by the appearance of new hatreds, at the close of 1924 has taken on not a little of the outward calm of the years before the war.

How long what must be described as the new spirit in Europe had been gathering before 1924 it would be hard to say, for until the recent past that spirit was hidden by other circumstances. But the fact is clear that the year was still young when all over Europe the proof of this new state of mind began to reveal itself.

In Britain a new ministry came to power expressing a national sentiment remote from wartime passions and headed by a Premier who had himself opposed British participation in the war. Yet this same Ramsay MacDonald was not long in office before he had successfully transformed Anglo-French relations and a spirit of compromise and coöperation returned to discussions which had become marked by almost unbelievable bitterness.

In France the government of Poincaré fell after defeat at the polls and the new Herriot Ministry came to power plainly commissioned to end the Ruhr War, not by the sacrifice of essential French interests, but by transformation of the victory won in the Ruhr into something more substantial than the continued occupation of enemy territory with small material profit and disproportionate costs in international disapprobation and increasing German passion.

Even Germany, turning to reaction in her

spring election, voting under the impulse of the Ruhr, nevertheless through the votes of some of the reactionaries themselves, presently accepted the Dawes Plan, which was to be not so much a new charter for Germany as a decisive demonstration of the new state of mind within and without the Reich.

After all the outstanding circumstance of 1924 is the remorseless fashion in which dangerous illusions were destroyed and wholesome facts at last established. It was always true, in the picturesque phrase of Roland Boyden, that Germany could not be made to pay more than she could pay. But it was equally true that Germany could escape no payment which was not demonstrably beyond her capacity.

Before the beginning of a solution could be reached it was necessary to establish the fact that Germany must pay, to convince Germans that they might be able to evade payment of the possible, but only by inviting the ruin which the collapse of the mark and the occupation of the Ruhr insured. It was equally necessary to convince the French that it was possible for them to crush a recalcitrant Germany, passively resisting proper payment, but that the process of crushing at one time abolished the hope of payment and brought upon France the evil of international distrust.

Before 1924 was very old the French people and the Germans were almost equally anxious for a solution, for an escape from the hopeless mess in which the Ruhr War had involved both, perhaps fortunately and to the ultimate end that a solution otherwise impossible might be found. Moreover a Labor Government in Britain, supposedly certain to support Germany against France, found itself driven by the logic of the situation to restore Anglo-French co-operation. British coercion of France was demonstrated to be as impossible as a means of procuring settlement in Europe as French coercion of Germany was of obtaining cash.

The Conference of London, where Germany accepted the Dawes Plan, after previous sessions had brought about Anglo-French understanding, may well prove a memorable date; indeed it may be the sign of the real end of the World War which, after the close of the military phase in November, 1918, still continued to weigh upon Europe and the world in its economic and political phases for six long years.

And the later Geneva Conference was the complement of the London meeting. As a result of the two sessions we have at last emerged from the shadow of various illusions. At London Germany received full and adequate assurance that her integrity and her prosperity were assured, provided only she made reasonable effort to comply with terms which were in themselves reasonable. The nightmare of partition was abolished; the evacuation of the Ruhr, within a year was pledged, and in addition loans from without enabled the speeding up of German economic and fiscal recovery.

At Geneva German admission to the League of Nations as an equal, as a great power, was insured, while the so-called "militaristic France" gave an example of the inexactitude of recent indictments by the double pledge to accept compulsory arbitration and to place with the Council of the League the power to determine the aggressor in any new war, by the simple process of identifying as guilty the nation refusing to arbitrate and resorting to force. And the double operation, the French acceptance of the Dawes Plan at London and the Protocol at Geneva, definitely destroyed the legend of a French purpose to destroy Germany, with only secondary concern for reparations.

Under the Dawes Plan Germany has only to pay that which neutral and expert judgment decides is possible—and possible without any evil consequences to herself in foreign exchange, and she is immune from attack by France, free to recover as she desires and will, provided only she does not seek to employ her inevitable strength to the expansion of her armaments and to the menace of her neighbors. Moreover, a member of the League, with the supervision of her armaments placed in League hands, she will again be free from the danger of sudden attack because of alleged bad faith.

More than all else it was the state of mind of the Europe of 1914 which made war inevitable. In the same fashion the restoration of peace after the termination of the fighting was postponed indefinitely by reason of the state of mind which the war had created. Ramsay MacDonald made a profound and infinitely wise pronouncement when he declared on taking office that his first efforts would be directed not to the solutions of questions but to the improvement of atmospheres. Moreover, his outstanding success lay in bringing this about.

France, feeling herself abandoned by her British ally and threatened by a Germany which strove to recover strength without discharging obligations, had gone to the Ruhr, had cemented the alliances which made her the military master of Europe. Germany, profoundly convinced that what France sought was not payment but the ruin of Germany, the destruction of unity and the occupation of German territory permanently, was incapable of making any effort to pay and inevitably drifting to a new war of despair, hopeless but hardly less fatal for herself than for Europe itself.

In the atmosphere of Europe of mid-summer, 1923, the situation was well-nigh hopeless, and before there could be a change of atmosphere there had to be a change of men and a change of method. The change of men came with the arrival of MacDonald and Herriot, that of method with the findings of the Dawes Commission. Moreover, with last summer came another change. The soldier and the statesman had failed to find peace. With the London Conference the financier and the business man arrived to take a hand. Indeed, the supreme achievement of the Dawes Plan was that it finally took the whole Reparation question out of politics. It internationalized the issue; it placed in neutral and expert hands the dealing with the main elements.

Geneva was the complement of London because, while London saw France, Germany and Britain at last discussing peace from a practical basis and on terms of courtesy and consideration, with ultimatums left out, Geneva disclosed Europe at last approaching the problem of organizing peace in a spirit which suggested real European solidarity, the development of a continent-wide desire to organize the peace for which all had so long sought.

Neither the Dawes Plan, as adopted at London, nor the Protocol as framed at Geneva derive their whole or perhaps their chief value from the terms written into them, but the one represents the recognition of the principle that Germany must pay what was possible and could not and would not be coerced into attempting impossible payments, while the other showed Britain and the Continent at least willing to recognize the sincerity of both in their conflicting views as to security and disarmament.

Beside these two facts, the several elections, in Britain, France and Germany, the

many changes in presidents and prime ministers, in party control, are relatively insignificant. They are details, and great as the changes have been, none of them presages a repudiation of the spirit of the agreements already made. The great gains, the acceptance of the principles of the Dawes Plan, the assurance of the evacuation of the Ruhr, the restoration of Anglo-French friendship—these stand. Moreover, the beginning of Franco-German commercial conversations and the prospect of agreements covering the interchange of French iron and German coal almost certainly promise further guarantees for peace.

At the close of the year, then, we have the fact of some things done, the promise of others begun, and no single cloud upon the European horizon has anything of the evil character which marked the Ruhr threat at the close of 1923. Bolshevism, economic collapse, new wars resulting from resurgent passions—these we have lived through in the past five years. Certainly the obstacles to be negotiated still are serious, but far from equally difficult for those who have surmounted those in the immediate background.

It is true that in the closing weeks of the year the Egyptian crisis and a sudden revelation of Communist and Bolshevik madness in France seemed measurably, at least, to modify the pleasing picture of the year, while the manifest uneasiness in Italy, where new challenges to Mussolini's rule were revealed, and the far more serious internal unrest in Spain suggested some explosion. Nevertheless, aside from the Egyptian crisis, none of these events seemed considerable enough to warrant any serious qualification of the general verdict of progress and prosperity in Europe during the last year.

## II. BRITAIN AND THE PROTOCOL

Before I pass to a consideration of the Egyptian affair and the German election, the outstanding circumstances of the month, I shall briefly consider two matters which are related to recent events, namely, the British postponement of a discussion of the Protocol of the League, which was adopted at Geneva, and the Franco-American discussion of debts, with its European consequences.

That the Tory Cabinet would call a halt upon the Protocol was always recog-

nized to be inevitable, because the Protocol went far beyond any previous British conception in the degree to which it engaged British responsibility for the security of foreign countries. In reality the Protocol did three important things: It established the principle of general and so-called compulsory arbitration by pledging nations to employ the Court and indentifying as the aggressor that nation which, instead of going to court, resorted to arms.

In the second place, it placed a specific obligation upon the member nations to defend any victim of aggression, once the Council of the League had established the fact of aggression. In this respect it reinforced the old covenant and—in the words of M. Benes, its author—created a military alliance, not against any nation in advance, but against any nation which resorted to force in defiance of its pledge to have recourse to arbitration.

Finally, it provided for an international discussion of the question of disarmament once the protocol had been ratified by a sufficient number of powers. The Protocol did other things, to be sure, of interest to Americans, but I summarized these in a recent number of this REVIEW and I am confining this comment to the issues at present pertinent. The net effect of the latter two agreements of the Protocol was to establish the Continental view that all discussion of disarmament must follow upon the solution of that of security and the degree of limitation of armaments would turn upon the extent of the protection provided by the League through the liability of member nations to come to the defense of a victim of aggression.

But this particular principle inevitably encountered British objection founded in part upon convictions wholly analogous to our reasons for objecting to Article X of the original Covenant. In the first place, the British were naturally averse to pledging their resources, military and naval, to the defense of all the frontiers of Europe. In the second place, they had to face an even greater objection on the part of the Dominions, since Canada was no more anxious to be involved in a European war to defend the frontiers of Poland or Rumania than are the people of the United States.

Finally, the British had to face the situation which might exist, if, while the United States remained outside the League, their fleet was called upon to share in a war of

defense provoked by some aggression under the terms of the Protocol. Then we should almost certainly insist upon our right to trade with the aggressor nations, just as we did in 1914 in the case of Germany, and endless complications might result.

As a consequence the British asked that the discussion of a disarmament conference, which was to be considered at a meeting in Rome on December 8—a discussion which was to lay the foundation for a new conference at Geneva in June—should be adjourned to give them time to consult their Dominions. This, of course, involved the postponement of the disarmament conference itself, probably for the present year.

The announcement of the British request provoked immediate assertion that the new British Cabinet contemplated scrapping the Protocol. Official denial of this was promptly forthcoming, yet the final judgment in London and on the Continent was that the British would in the end have to reject the Protocol or adopt it with reservations in part at least, recalling those proposed when our own Senate discussed the Covenant of the league five years ago.

What embarrassed the British decision was the fact that Britain had already dropped the treaty of guarantee for France made at Paris in 1919. She had similarly rejected the Cecil Scheme of Guarantee adopted at Geneva in 1923 and she was now faced with the prospect of abandoning still a third plan of guaranteeing security, which had also been adopted under British sanction at an international gathering. Thus to meet the situation it was officially announced that the British would in the meantime consider all other forms of guarantee and there was more than a hint that there might be some return to the original plan of a guarantee to France and Belgium against a new German aggression—a plan which found later expression in the tentative draft of Lloyd George and Briand at the unhappy Cannes conference three years ago.

Meantime the discussion of disarmament is not only adjourned until British decision is reached, but in reality until Britain is ready to meet Continental views in the matter of security. In view of all which had now taken place, in view of the Geneva acceptance of the principle that all disarmament must be subsidiary to security, the British, who have been the chief champions of international discussion of a limitation

of armaments, cannot press the point, save as they are prepared to make preliminary concessions in the matter of guarantees.

It would, however, in my judgment be premature to assume that the whole Protocol will be abandoned because of the matter of security and disarmament. On the contrary, the program of international agreement to arbitration and the method for fixing the responsibility for any new conflict represent gains which are too precious to be lost. Even though there be no present acceptance of the obligation for mutual defense and as a consequence no conference resulting in the limitation of armaments, it is hard to believe that in any present time any European nation would assume the moral disadvantages incident to aggressive action.

In the meantime nations would quite obviously continue to base their military establishments upon their own estimate of the danger to them of attack. But the thing too little perceived in America is that at all times this will remain the situation in Europe and all discussion of limitation of armament without preliminary guarantees is impossible. And in the same order of ideas the Protocol has recognized the right of nations to make agreements for mutual defense, provided these fall within the terms of the Protocol, that is, become operative only in the face of established aggression.

For the moment, moreover, with France returning from the Ruhr and Franco-British relations on a wholly friendly basis, the British have far less reason than in any recent time to be concerned with French military strength. In the end it is far from unlikely, as I have suggested, that Britain may decide to make a special agreement with France and Belgium, covering any new German aggression. Since France is ready to agree to arbitration and has ratified the Protocol, this would really involve Britain in little undesirable risk, for what the British have always balked at has not been the guarantee of French security, but the underwriting of French policy, which they regarded as likely to provoke war, particularly since France had become the guarantor of Poland.

Events in the Near East are visibly bringing France and Britain together. The common danger in North Africa and Western Asia supplies a basis for coöperation which has been lacking since the defeat of Germany removed the former common peril. The right of France to some form of guaran-

tee has frequently been affirmed officially by British ministers. What has blocked any such guarantee has been the British distrust of French policy toward Germany, the conviction that France sought the destruction, not the restoration, of Germany, that she cared more for security than for reparations. But now that France has loyally accepted the Dawes Plan and is withdrawing from the Ruhr conditions have materially changed.

In the Rome Conference the British thesis presented by Austen Chamberlain disclosed fairly clearly that the obstacles to British acceptance of the Protocol as adopted at Geneva were threefold, namely, the difficulties arising from the absence of America from the League, which I have just cited, the fact that the Protocol constituted an almost impassable barrier to ultimate American participation, and the certainty that the Dominions would find objectionable the Japanese amendments of Geneva which seemed to give to the League some right to consider, if not to modify, domestic legislation and particularly domestic legislation affecting immigration.

The truth is that in many directions the last Geneva Assembly, while making many striking and useful contributions, went too far and too fast to satisfy all but the most extreme champions of the League of Nations. But since the League has now accepted the principle that disarmament must wait upon guarantees of security for the nations consenting to reduce their armies, it is at once logical and necessary to postpone discussion of that subject and no real harm is discoverable in this consequence.

The project of an American conference to discuss limitation of land armaments must, too, be adjourned without date, both because it must wait upon the ultimate disposition of the Protocol and because the United States is not prepared to give guarantees as a detail in bringing about the reduction of armaments in Europe. Meantime the real basis for a reduction of armies, namely, the decrease in war dangers, is unmistakable in Europe.

The chief obstacle to American membership in the League of Nations has always been American reluctance to undertake responsibilities to assist in maintaining European peace by force. In its present form the Protocol goes to the extreme limit in establishing this responsibility, while opening new and equally undesirable hori-

zons as a result of the Japanese contribution. A reaction from both is certain. Meantime all questions of the League and of disarmament remain in abeyance with us.

### III. FRENCH DEBT DISCUSSIONS

The past month has seen a very significant opening and closing of conversations between the French Ambassador at Washington, M. Jusserand, whose approaching retirement is a matter of nation-wide regret, and our own officials on the subject of the French debt to America growing out of war-time loans. This discussion arose not through any American demand but on the initiative of France herself.

The situation with respect of the French, Belgian and Italian debts is clear. France owes us upwards of \$4,000,000,000, Italy rather less than \$3,000,000,000 and Belgium materially less than \$500,000,000. None of these three nations has begun payment on these debts, either as to principal or interest, because all three have been occupied in the restoration of the ruins incident to the invasion of their own territory. France alone has expended upwards of \$3,500,000,000 which she has raised by loans within her own territory and the work is still incomplete, although, as Dr. Shaw pointed out last month in his report of his own investigations on the spot, an enormous work has been accomplished.

So far, too, America has shown toward the Continental nations a spirit of comprehending friendliness which must be conceded to have been complete, for the American taxpayer has been meeting the burden of the interest upon the sums loaned to all three nations out of his own pocket and by taxation. Were it possible for the Continental nations to begin payments on a scale equal to that undertaken by the British, we should receive more than \$300,000,000 annually, which would represent the interest upon approximately \$7,000,000,000—more than a third of our outstanding indebtedness due to the war.

While the Continental nations have thus been unable to pay—and we have recognized this fact, the British two years ago undertook to pay a debt of \$4,600,000,000 incurred in the same fashion, and several other nations, notably Poland, have similarly undertaken to repay debts incurred after the war, through loans from our treasury to aid their reconstruction. The British

settlement, negotiated by the present Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin, provided for a payment of an annual sum rising from \$160,000,000 to nearly \$180,000,000 and extending over something like two generations.

From the American point of view it would be natural to expect that the Continental nations would, as their resources permit, undertake repayment as the British have done. But it might be conceded that if our own authorities were satisfied that none of the Continental nations was able to pay as promptly or as fully as Britain, given their greater losses in the war, the terms to them might be more favorable and might include an extended moratorium. In other words, having various debtors, we might deal with them not on the basis of our claims but of our estimate of their capacity to pay.

In the discussions with M. Jusserand, which did not reach any very definite point, something of this attitude may have been disclosed on our part. In any event both Paris and London learned from press despatches that better terms were, in fact, available for the French than the British had obtained. Particularly were the reports definite that a considerable moratorium for France might be considered, since Germany was enjoying a moratorium and her payments under the Dawes Plan would only reach the normal amount after some years.

The British reaction to these reports was immediate and unfavorable. This was due to two totally different circumstances. In the first place, the British, feeling the burden of their own taxation, argued that there was no warrant in right or reason why America should exact severer terms from Britain than from France. Thus they insisted that if France got better terms than Britain had obtained, the Baldwin agreement should be revised to conform to any Franco-American adjustment. In asserting this claim the British press conceded that we had never promised them a most-favored-nation treatment, but they urge such treatment as a matter of justice.

This British contention, however, might have been ignored, since it took no official form, had it not been for the fact that Britain had much stronger ground on which to base action. If the French owed America \$4,000,000,000 they also owed the British around \$3,500,000,000. If the French were considering funding the American debt, the British argued that they were

equally bound to fund the British and that they must be prepared to pay Britain in proportion as they paid America. And of course, although the point was not raised because Italy did not move to adjust her American debts, the same principle would apply in her case.

But the French had never considered the British and American debts in the same light. They had always insisted that Britain and France were partners in the war and that French contribution in blood balanced British contribution in gold. They had always calculated upon an ultimate cancellation of the British debt, as had the Belgians and Italians. If mere discussion of payment to America raised the British question, then they were bound to terminate the American discussions, which is exactly what they did do, a statement of M. Herriot, the French Prime Minister, covering the case.

The French expectation of cancellation, or at least of an enormous scaling down, found a certain warrant, moreover, in the fact that two years ago Bonar Law, then Prime Minister of Britain, had proposed to France and to all the Continental nations the abolition of their debts to Britain save for that annual payment which would bridge the difference between what Germany was bound to pay England on account of reparations and what England had undertaken to pay the United States on her wartime borrowing. This balance would not have exceeded \$40,000,000 annually, on the basis of the calculations of the Dawes Report, and would have amounted to substantial cancellation.

In the London Conference, last August, MacDonald had promised Herriot to go to Paris and talk debts, after the Geneva Conference, and all France confidently expected that the Bonar Law proposal would be repeated, although the British had asserted that it had lapsed because the Continental nations had rejected it, just before the Ruhr occupation in January, 1923. If one conceive that France must undertake eventually to repay both the American and British debts, then her situation is this, she will have to meet the costs of an American debt of \$4,000,000,000, a British debt of \$3,500,000,000, and also the burden of the domestic debt of \$4,000,000,000 which will represent her cost of reconstruction of the devastated area. Thus she will be bound to pay on a debt of \$11,-

500,000,000, or practically on the same sum which is represented by the maximum annual payments imposed upon Germany by the Dawes Plan.

Assuming that the Germans pay France under the Dawes Plan on the basis of the maximum estimate, namely, \$625,000,000 annually, the French share would be \$325,000,000, but France would have to pay Britain and America \$300,000,000 annually, assuming the scale of the British payment to America. Therefore, to all practical purposes France would be called upon to turn over to America and Britain all but an illusory fragment of the German payments, assuming Germany paid the maximum under the Dawes Plan, which is totally unlikely. In reality France would have to expect not alone to turn over all she got from Germany but more beside, bearing in addition her reconstruction burden.

But the case of Italy would be infinitely worse, because Italy figures in the German reparations for only some 10 per cent., against the French 52 per cent. and the British 22 per cent. She would then get from Germany, at best only \$62,500,000 annually, but she would have to pay to the United States and Great Britain on the principal and interest of a debt of more than \$5,000,000,000, which would represent an annual payment of \$200,000,000, assuming the eventual British rate of payment to the United States. Thus her payments to the United States and Britain would be more than three times as great as she could receive from Germany.

Now of course, practically speaking, every English financial man accepts the fact that there is no chance of any considerable payment to Britain of any Continental debt. That is the financial fact. And one must note in passing that not only does the Continent owe Britain upwards of \$8,000,000,000, but France is also the creditor of her Continental Allies for some \$3,500,000,000, a sum equal to her indebtedness to Britain, on which she is getting nothing. Thus the French claim for cancellation rests also on the fact that she has debts equal to the sum she might seek to have Britain annul or forgive her.

But the financial fact and the political fact are quite different. The British taxpayer can not be expected to consent to forgive France and the other Continental nations, while the immediate effect will be to enable these countries to meet their debts

to the United States more promptly. On the contrary he is sure to insist that if anyone be paid it be Britain. Nor is he ready to let his government sit idly by while France gets better terms from America than he has got.

The British official point of view might have been that the best thing to do would be to hold an international conference to dispose of all the debts, British, French and American. And this I believe lies in the back of the heads of the British Ministry at the moment. But the difficulty is that from the American point of view such a conference must inevitably lead to a reduction of our Continental claims and also a reduction of our returns on the British debt, which is now being paid at the rate of \$160,000,000 annually.

Of course we cannot collect the debt the Continental nations owe us by force. We can at best only wait their pleasure in the matter. But the Continental nations cannot pay us, assuming their willingness, without incurring obligations to deal similarly with their debts to Britain, which they certainly have never considered paying at all. The result is a deadlock in any negotiations with us and also in any negotiations with one another. The effect of the British gesture has been to terminate Franco-American discussions, but the effect of these Franco-American discussions has been to postpone any consideration of inter-allied debts in Europe.

In considering this whole question, too, Americans must recognize that the dominant British view is that the American attitude toward the debt question has been ungenerous and that our insistence upon the terms contained in the Baldwin settlement was, to say the least, something quite different from British expectation. It is true that we, on our side, feel that in this settlement we made material concessions, that we were even generous. But not the smallest of the obstacles to ultimate solution is the complete difference in the American and British points of view.

British feeling, too, has been disclosed in the relative minor matter of our claims growing out of war damages. We have presented a bill at Paris for \$500,000,000 covering war damages and also the cost of the Army of Occupation. France, Italy and Belgium, the nations which have not begun paying their debts to us, have agreed that we ought to be paid, as we ask, from

the proceeds of the Dawes plan. The British, on the contrary, while agreeing that we are entitled to \$200,000,000, the costs of our Army of Occupation, hold that we are not entitled to the balance, because we did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles and all German payments of the Dawes plan flow from this treaty. Since we made a separate treaty with the Germans, the British hold we should get the money from them directly. But this is, in practice, impossible, because the Dawes plan was accepted by Germany as comprehending all payments on account of the war. One should add that the Continental nations believe the British position legally sound, while adopting the American view for other reasons.

Actually the effect of British views, then, is that, so long as we insist upon British payments on the Baldwin scale, the British can block our receiving much of anything from our Continental debtors, by insisting that these debtors accord to British debts the same treatment they give American. This does not terribly grieve the Continental nations, since it gives them a pretty solid argument for postponing debt discussions with us. It doesn't help the British much, since their payments to us must continue, while they can collect nothing from the continent. As it stands there is not an economist or financial expert who believes France, Belgium or Italy could pay us anything without evil consequences to their exchange. This is obviously not an argument for cancellation, for conditions may and probably will materially change, but it is a sound argument for the continuation of the virtual moratorium which exists. Moreover, had the French discussions gone farther, they could only have led to a settlement including a moratorium. Thus the episode has not prevented us from getting money which might otherwise have come to us, but only prevented the French from getting an immediate reduction in the interest which runs on their debt, such a reduction as was a detail in the British settlement.

Our government is disclosed ready to deal with any funding of the Continental debts on the basis of the ability of the several nations to pay without disturbing their own rate of exchange and economic system generally. We ask only that payments be made on the present and future capacity of the debtors to pay. But ob-

viously we cannot hasten the process of adjustment and everything seems now to wait upon the solution of the question of inter-allied debts in Europe. Meantime we are being paid on \$5,000,000,000 of the total \$12,000,000,000 and can expect no large increase until the Dawes Plan begins to yield considerably.

#### IV. EGYPT

Turning now to the Egyptian crisis, it must be recognized at once, not only as the most important event of the month, but also one of the outstanding incidents of the year, an episode which, taken in connection with its obvious Bolshevik, Indian and North African phases, must measurably tend to qualify the otherwise optimistic harvest of the present year and to constitute the one unmistakably black cloud upon the horizon.

The history of Britain in Egypt would fill many volumes, but a brief review is perhaps necessary to present understanding of the issue. The British entered Egypt in 1882, following the bombardment of Alexandria, which was provoked by the rebellion of Arabi Pasha and the murder of many Europeans. The British intervention was for the purpose of restoring the authority of the Khedive, who was himself a representative of Turkish power. Ever thereafter British control in Egypt, up to 1914, was covered by the historic promise to evacuate when order would not thereby be endangered.

Following British entrance into Egypt the Sudan revolted and in 1885 Gordon, sent to supervise evacuation, was murdered in Khartum and, the British efforts to save him having failed, the Sudan was evacuated. Not for a decade did Kitchener take up the great work of reconquering the Sudan, which was accomplished by the victory of Omdurman in 1898.

British control of Egypt was marked by the swift improvement in economic and financial conditions. Egypt was presently restored to prosperity and order was maintained. For a quarter of a century, however, British influence was blocked by French opposition and it was not until the great Entente of 1904, when France recognized British supremacy in Egypt and Britain made a similar concession to French influence in Morocco, that the quarrel was adjusted. Once at least, at the moment of

the Fashoda affair in 1898, the two nations were brought to the edge of war over Egypt.

In all of this time Britain acted in the name of the Khedive, while the legal authority of the Turkish Sultan was not challenged. When the Sudan was reconquered it was by an Anglo-Egyptian Army and Kitchener himself was technically in Egyptian service. Most of the money for the expedition came from the Egyptian taxpayer. The Sudan was not, however, incorporated into Egypt, but remained an Anglo-Egyptian condominium, both flags flying at Khartum.

When the World War broke the British promptly proclaimed Egypt a British protectorate and deposed the reigning Khedive, who was pro-Turkish. The underlying reason for British presence in Egypt, the need to protect the Suez Canal, the chief highway between Britain and India, was emphasized when the Turks endeavored to cut the canal during the war. The attack was easily repulsed and save for certain troubles in the desert regions, Egypt remained undisturbed during the entire war.

The growing demand of the Egyptians for independence, however, brought the British in 1922 to terminate the protectorate and give the Khedive supreme control—that is, led them to recognize Egyptian independence subject to certain limitations. Thus the British reserved for future negotiations the questions of security of communications in Egypt, defense, protection of foreign interests and of minorities, together with the vital problem of the Sudan.

It had been the hope of the British that in recognizing Egyptian freedom and in restoring administration largely to native hands, the sentiment of the country would be satisfied and coöperation on the new basis made easy, but such was not the case. The Nationalists, led by Zaghlul Pasha, began new and violent agitations, demanding among other things the control of the Sudan. Zaghlul was several times imprisoned, but after his most recent release became again Prime Minister.

Just before MacDonald fell, Zaghlul came to London to demand the Sudan, but was met by a sharp refusal. The British view was that while Egypt had certain rights in the Sudan, notably those relating to water supplies, since the Nile was the source of all Egyptian life, there could be no

question of returning this area to Egypt and thus risking the ruin of all the great work of civilization which the British had achieved. Moreover, the British held that the Sudanese themselves had no wish to be returned to an Egyptian control which had lapsed forty years before.

Passion had mounted so high in Egypt that an explosion was now inevitable. It came in the form of the murder of the Sirdar, the British commander of the Egyptian military forces, in a particularly atrocious manner. Thus the new Tory Cabinet was faced by a crisis which not only involved British position in Egypt but also British prestige alike in the Near and the Far East. The reaction in India, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, as well as in Egypt, was bound to be enormous and British quiescence was felt to endanger British security from Suez to Singapore.

Accordingly, the Baldwin Cabinet sent to Cairo at once the stiffest sort of ultimatum, in which the hand of Winston Churchill was easily detected. Many demands were made upon the Egyptian Government—money indemnity amounting to more than \$2,000,000, various forms of official apology, assurances for the future, while in addition there were two further demands of utmost significance. The first was that the Egyptian troops serving in the Sudan should be recalled and disbanded and the second, that Egyptian claims with respect to the new Gezireh barrage should be abandoned.

While agreeing to the demands as to reparation, the Zaghlul Ministry refused to comply with that dealing with the Egyptian troops in the Sudan, some of whom promptly revolted and fired upon their British officers. The British then seized the Alexandria Customs House, hurried troops to Egypt and forcibly disbanded the Sudanese Egyptian forces. Zaghlul then resigned and Parliament was prorogued after a new Prime Minister had given formal assent to the British demands in full.

Meantime, the Parliament addressed an appeal to the League of Nations, while the British formally gave notice that the issues were purely domestic and could not properly be submitted to the League and that any interference by any nation would be regarded as an unfriendly act. As Egypt was not a member of the League, she had no basis for an appeal, but it was reported that Persia would call the matter to the League's attention, as it could.

In Britain there was an enormous sensation. A certain measure of criticism of the drastic character of the ultimatum was heard, but for the most part there was unanimity in all of the press, aside from Labor papers. It was recognized that the issue was grave beyond exaggeration and the only real criticism was directed against the inclusion in the ultimatum of the demands covering Egypt and the Gezireh water supply.

Nevertheless it was interesting to note that while the mass of Englishmen did not in the least differ with the official view that the question did not have a League of Nations phase, that is, that it was not an issue on which the League could act, there was a general desire to avoid the appearance of flouting the League and Austen Chamberlain, setting out for the meeting of the League Council at Rome, promised to explain the situation to the League representatives, giving the British view.

Meantime, the British Government gave increasing proof that it had no intention of withdrawing the concessions it had made and reverting to the old condition of the Protectorate. It did not undertake in any measure to annul the measure of independence already conceded to Egypt, although it disclosed its purpose to maintain firmly British rights under this agreement and above all to refuse any surrender of the Sudan to the Egyptians.

Although the Egyptians were overawed and disorder checked, it was plain that passions had been deeply stirred and London was presently disturbed by reports of murder plots, directed not alone against Allenby, the British representative in Egypt, but also against British royalty in London itself.

As I close this article the situation remains quiet on the surface, but seething underneath. In reality, Egypt is no more than the sign and symbol of the growing determination of many eastern peoples to get rid not alone of western supervision but also of western influence. In Spanish Morocco, in French Tunis, in Italian Tripoli and in all of the British protectorates and mandates from the Mediterranean to the Malay Peninsula the same forces are working and new explosions remain always possible.

American critics of the British course would do well to recognize the British difficulties. Egypt is for Britain even more

important than Panama for us, yet it is plain that we would never submit to any challenge to our Panama communications. The grave thing about the whole Egyptian episode is that it seems to point to the failure of a sincere and extensive attempt on the British part to bestow independence upon a native people, to bestow as much independence as should not involve risk to British security or to a great British investment and work in the Sudan.

On the other hand, the world must recognize in the Egyptian as in other similar explosions the appearance in a threatening form of the spirit of nationalism which for a full century shook Europe and was the main cause of the World War itself. The gospel of self-determination which was asserted in Paris after the war has been adopted by millions and millions of native peoples. And one must recall that in the last century every European tribe, beginning with the Greeks in 1821, successfully asserted its right to complete liberty and every state which opposed the principle was defeated.

One has also to recognize the new peril coming from Moscow. The Reds, having substantially failed to exploit the temporary misery and unrest of European populations due to the war, to take advantage of conditions which by rapidly disappearing dissipated this Russian plan, are now turning to the exploitation of native unrest in Asia and North Africa with vastly larger chances of working incalculable harm.

Europe, too, is manifestly taking alarm at the double danger. The British rejection of the MacDonald Treaty with the Soviets, the French reaction to the new disorders incident to the recognition of Russia, the full appreciation by all European nations having Asiatic and North African colonies of the dangers coming from excited nationalism and from Bolshevik activities—these are highly significant.

Indeed it is hardly too much to say that the Egyptian affair, and the Soviet activities in and out of Europe, may lead to some Anglo-French-Italian Entente, to a reunion of nations separated when the war had eliminated the common German peril, but now drawn together by a fresh danger of equal gravity for all three. Unless Italy, France and Britain can maintain a united front to nationalism in North Africa the consequences for all three will be disastrous. Moreover, there is now tardy appreciation

of the fact that the differences which broke down the common front against Turkey have been in part responsible for the present situation south of the Mediterranean.

Austen Chamberlain's conversations in Paris and Rome very clearly foreshadowed some common Mediterranean policy, as they disclosed British readiness to consent to French occupation of the territory evacuated by the Spanish in the Riff. Thus, grave as the consequences of the Egyptian incident may be outside of Europe and perilous as is the greater menace of which it is but symptomatic, one may at least hope that it may lead to greater solidarity among European nations themselves.

## V. THE GERMAN ELECTION

The German election of Sunday, December 7, while measurably disappointing to those who had extravagant hopes of a sweeping Republican victory which might restore the clear majority possessed by the three parties supporting the existing régime before the election of last spring, nevertheless marked an unmistakable step in advance of the champions of the Republic. The two extreme parties which openly challenged the Republic with violence—namely, the Communists on the Left and the Ludendorff-Hittler Voelkische on the Right—were equally smitten, the former losing 17 seats and the latter 18.

The three parties which openly advocated the Republic and the performance of the Dawes Plan program—the Social Democrats, the Clerical Center, and the Democrats—carried 230 seats. This represented a gain of 30 seats for the Social Democrats, the Clericals gaining 3 and the Democrats 7. There was thus a collective gain of 40 for the parties which advocated the Republic. With the 20 members of the Bavarian Peoples party, which is closely allied to the Clericals, this would constitute a bloc of 250 members, just more than half the number of the new chamber.

By contrast, the two out-and-out monarchial parties—Nationalist and the Voelkische—elected 102 and 14 members, respectively; a gain of six for the former and a loss of 18 for the latter, or a net loss of an even dozen for the adherents of the old order. The Communist membership fell from 62 to 45, an equally significant change.

The strategic position of the Peoples

party, that of Stresemann, was oddly retained. This is the party of the industrialists, and although it has worked with the Clericals and the Democrats and its leader was Foreign Minister in the old cabinet, all of its tendencies are monarchical. It had compelled the recent election by seeking to bring about a substitution of the Nationalists for the Social Democrats, who supported the Marx-Stresemann cabinet without taking office in it. In the new Reichstag the Peoples party will have 50 members, a gain of 6. Since in the campaign it faced both ways and avoided any clear-cut declaration, its position remains problematical, while its control of the balance of power between the republican and monarchical groups continues.

Before examining the probable political consequences of the election, it is worth while to look backward a moment to get a clear perception of the comparative strength of the parties now and before the spring election. In the spring Germany was under the influence of the Ruhr occupation and the collapse of the currency. As a result, the election was a disaster for the moderate elements. The three parties which championed the Republic—Social Democrats, Clericals, and Democrats—who had held 280 seats, a clear and working majority, lost over a hundred seats and even with the Bavarian Peoples Party they could only muster 203 votes in a house of 465.

The Monarchists, on the other hand, gained nearly 60 seats; 26 for the Nationalists and 29 for the Voelkische. The Communists gained even more impressively, increasing their membership from 15 to 62. The Peoples Party suffered the same ill-fortune as the republican group and lost, although relatively less heavily.

Now if you compare these figures with those of the last election it will be manifest that all the gains have been made by the parties which either openly advocate the republic or, in the case of the Peoples, avoid declaring against it, the fact is also patent that the recent election restored to the champions of the Republic very close to half of the ground lost in the spring. In a word Germany has not completely reversed herself, but the new election represents a half turn back to the Republic, and, as such, must be held to be favorable.

The disappointment which is manifest in the Berlin despatches grows out of the fact that the three republican parties, the Social

Democrats, Clericals and Democrats have not obtained a working or even a clear majority, since they hold but 230 seats in 490 and even with the Bavarian Peoples Party number only 250, which would not be a working majority. Thus some new combination is inescapable.

There are two obvious combinations. The first was proposed by Marx and is intended to represent a rally to the Republic and a maintenance of the Dawes Plan. This would be a combination of the Social Democrats, the Clericals, the Democrats, the Bavarian Peoples Party and the Peoples Party. It would represent 300 seats, a good working majority. But it would necessitate a new orientation of the policy of the Peoples Party, which would be called upon to abandon its monarchical sympathies.

The second combination, advocated by the Nationalists would be the union of all the parties above-named save the Social Democrats, who would be replaced by the Nationalists. Such a combination would manifestly be dominated by the Nationalists, who would count 102 members, while the Voelkische would contribute 14 more. This new bloc would hold 286, a smaller but still a working majority. But it would be infinitely hard to preserve a solid front, for the Democrats and Clericals, with 100 votes, are committed beyond qualification to the maintenance of the Republic.

Finally, there is a third solution, less definite but possible. The Marx-Stresemann Cabinet might be continued, still based upon the support of the Social Democrats, who would continue to vote with the Ministry but abstain from taking portfolios. This would be, in a sense, avoiding the issue, which might be postponed until the presidential election next spring. The worst of such a solution would be that it would make for confusion in domestic if not in foreign affairs, but, after all, confusion perhaps best presents the German mind at the moment.

If one were to sum up the German election results it would perhaps be most accurate to say that all the tendencies revealed were favorable, that all the gains made were in the direction of preserving the existing régime, but that the net conclusion must be that the German, himself, is still by no means irrevocably committed to the Republic and the real decision must come later. Meantime the Republic has survived

a new test and emerges on the whole materially stronger, its two foes, the Royalist and the Red, both having lost ground. By contrast the gains of the republicans do not yet give them unhampered control or adequate mastery.

For the present, the Germans have no reason to seek a change. The evacuation of the Ruhr is progressing and she is obtaining in growing amounts the foreign loans she needs and must need for some time to come. Only a restoration of the monarchy could interrupt either process. In addition for the next two or three years she will enjoy a moratorium under the Dawes Plan. Therefore a repudiation would, even if successful, save her little contribution, while it would involve almost incalculable dangers.

Until this year the German Republic has been identified in the German mind with all German miseries from the Treaty of Versailles onward, but now that German material prosperity is coming back and German position in Europe is improving, the Republic may profit by the gains of the future as it has manifestly suffered from the evils of the recent past. One thing the election probably insures is German entrance into the League of Nations and this must be regarded as a gain for peace, because German isolation must hence-

forth be undesirable and even dangerous.

The fact that the German Republic has survived the last five years and at the latest election showed increased popularity—or at least increased support, is perhaps the best reason for believing that it may yet endure. In any event there is nothing in the last election to encourage pessimism and much to justify optimism.

It is true that the elections for the Prussian Parliament showed a rather striking drift in the opposite direction from that discoverable in the returns for the Reichstag, the Social Democrats suffering severe losses, but even here the victory of reaction was far from complete, while Prussia has been notoriously the home of the Junker and the center of the monarchical sentiment. Moreover, the Prussian Parliament will not exercise any control over foreign, or for that matter domestic, affairs of a national scope.

Thus, in sum, it seems to me that we may take the German election as one more evidence of the steady improvement of European conditions, particularly if we measure the results not by the hopes of the republicans but by the comparative statistics of the Monarchists and Communists, the opponents of the republic and the Dawes plan, as disclosed in the spring election and in the recent test.

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## THE RAILWAYS OF FRANCE

BY CHARLES F. SPEARE

IN a recent month the three largest privately owned and operated railroads in France borrowed \$45,000,000 in the American market. Their bonds are now daily and actively dealt in on the New York Stock Exchange.

This brings to mind a similar phase of international finance which followed the Civil War. The United States was at that time in an impoverished condition. Capital for new development was scarce. On the other hand England, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland were comparatively well-to-do. Their investors were looking for higher returns than domestic securities yielded. They had faith in America and in her people and saw before the country a period of great expansion westward. So they became the willing creditors of what

now are our best transportation systems, lending to them a sum that was colossal for those days. Later they were made large stockholders in these enterprises, sharing in their profits as well as suffering from their losses until the year of the Great War brought to light the fact that Europe owned fully \$5,000,000,000 of American bonds and stocks, mostly railroad, through the sale or hypothecation of which Great Britain was able to finance a fair proportion of her war needs in 1914 and 1915.

Parallels between the two widely separated periods of external loans might be further described. I will, however, deal with only one other, viz., the rate of interest. When the European investors sold their 6 per cent. United States Government bonds in the early 70's they bought with the

proceeds the 7 per cent. and 8 per cent. divisional mortgages of prominent eastern and western American roads. The prices paid were a long way from par. The coupon rate on the bonds of the Paris, Lyons & Mediterranean, the Paris-Orleans, and the Nord Railway—which were offered last October—was 7 per cent. in the first two instances and 6½ per cent. in the other. Again the discount was considerable. Without too great an optimism one may look forward to a day when the new bonds will command a premium as did those of an earlier and less discriminating generation of investors.

#### *Only Six Railway Systems*

There are six railway systems in France, of which five—the Paris, Lyons & Mediterranean, or "P. L. M." as it is popularly known, the Paris-Orleans, Est, Midi, and Nord—are privately owned and managed. The sixth, the State, as its name suggests, is government owned and conducted and it is the least efficient of all. These roads with a total of 21,000 miles occupy distinct regions in France where they come into very little competition with each other.

As the American tourist knows, the only line that can carry him to Marseilles and the Riviera is the Paris, Lyons & Mediterranean. The Nord has the monopoly of the Paris-Calais or Paris-Belgium traffic. One has to go from the French capital to the frontier of Spain by the Paris-Orleans and Midi routes, and into the Rhine country over the Est. Landing at Cherbourg, one takes the State Railroad to Paris or else motors or flies there. All this simplifies traveling. One does not have to consider on which of two or three parallel lines one should book in going between direct points. Generally speaking, there is more comfort if less privacy on an American than on a French or Continental train and the riding is smoother.

#### *Government Provides Interest and Dividend Fund*

The development of the French railways has been along quite different lines from that of the railroads of the United States. In both countries there have been periods of great expansion followed by overbuilding in sections of thin traffic, and consequent failures and receiverships. The prominent difference between the two has been in the method of financing new construction and

providing for interest and dividends on outstanding obligations. It is true that the American roads had a form of governmental aid in the land grants that were given them and from which they have realized large capital returns. On the whole, however, it was the dollar of the private American citizen that went behind those railroads that projected their lines across the prairies and across the mountains until the Atlantic and Pacific were joined by bands of steel. The American contractor and the Yankee investor took the chance as individuals, and won or lost accordingly.

With the French it was not quite so. It is true they bought both bonds and stocks of their railways, but these securities were in many instances guaranteed by the state. The entire program of railroad development in France since 1842 has been established on the principle that the Government provides for interest on bonds and dividends on stocks. When the convention of October, 1921, was completed it embodied the identical features of that which had been promulgated eighty years earlier and by which in the trying days of the Great War the French investor was protected against loss of principal and income on his holdings of home railroad securities. Under the successive agreements or conventions of 1842, 1859, 1883, and 1921, the national policy of private ownership stands out prominently, save for the experiment in government ownership in the case of the State Railway. However, the conservatism of the French investor compelled a major degree of sponsorship by the state before he could be induced to place his savings in untried enterprises.

During the war, French railways whose main lines had been destroyed, whose equipment had to a considerable extent been carried across the border into Germany, and whose stations and bridges had been razed, continued by the grace of the state to pay large dividends. In the reconstruction period, with its terrific costs for rebuilding and reequipping, they went on paying dividends. And it was nominated in the bond drawn between Government and the privately owned lines, three years ago, that France assumed the payment of interest and sinking fund requirements of her transportation systems if necessary and in addition she established a common fund into which the excess receipts of her roads are placed to the advantage of all lines.

What France does is to leave the operating policies of her railways to men more competent than her own servants while she takes upon herself the burden of making railroad budgets balance.

#### *Coal Scarcity Promotes Electrification*

France has had too little coal for her railroad fuel requirements. In this respect she is at a disadvantage with Great Britain and Germany. Until the past few years our roads have possessed such an abundance of low cost coal and oil that the question of fuel economy has been of secondary consideration in obtaining a satisfactory transportation ratio. Even now they consider the change from power generated by steam to electrically generated power as one hinging more on train load results than on escape from a precarious coal-supply position. France, however, must regard the matter in a different light and obtain a substitute for the coal which she has to purchase at a high price from commercial and political rivals. So she is going ahead with a definite and widespread program of rail electrification which already is in operation on the Paris-Orleans and the Midi lines over considerable stretches of track and is being pushed on the Riviera and Italian divisions of the "P. L. M."

Of the electrification projects under way and for which American capital is being provided, that of the Paris-Orleans in connection with the Midi, is by far the most pretentious. About fifteen miles of the four-track division of the "P-O" in the neighborhood of Paris and Orleans have for some time been operated by electricity. This corresponds to the dense traffic sections of the New York Central, Pennsylvania, and New York, New Haven & Hartford railroads, also equipped electrically for suburban business. The electric zone of the Paris-Orleans, however, is steadily being extended and before long will reach from Paris to Montauban, or one of the longest electric divisions in the world. (That of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad between Harlowton, Mont., and Avery, Id., is 440 miles; and the "Milwaukee" has another division in the State of Washington which is 207 miles in length.)

At present the Paris-Orleans has 430 miles of electric line under construction. Then it is proposed to electrify the Midi from its junction with the Paris-Orleans to the Spanish border. Already between 400 and 500 miles, or about 15 per cent. of its total mileage, have been converted from steam to electric operation—so that to-day one may ride nearly all the way from Beziers through Toulouse and Carcassonne and so on, paralleling in general the frontier, to Pau and Bordeaux. With the Paris, Lyons & Mediterranean the first electrification work completed was on the line to Modane, which accommodates a heavy Italian travel; and now the most congested parts of the Riviera division between Nice and the Italian frontier are being prepared for electric power.

It is doubtful if the roads in the north or east of France will adopt the change that is going on in the south, as they have their coal close by and no sources of water supply to effect a cheap generation of electric power. The Midi can draw on the abundant and but slightly developed horse-power of the Pyrenees, which is comparable to that available to the Swiss railways and industries. The Paris-Orleans assembles its "white fuel" at a very low rate in the Haute-Dordogne, and eventually the "P. L. M." will be utilizing the Rhone River for power development.

Of all the economic changes that necessity has created in France, none is more significant than that now taking place in the adjustment of railroad rates to railroad costs and of the enlargement of horse-power units through water power. Italy is in line for an early substitution of the same sort. Neither France nor Italy has heretofore realized the wealth stored in their mountain streams. It is an interesting fact that in France the state is granting concessions to its privately owned railroads, permitting them to utilize the power which the state controls. We are nearing a period when greater electrification of American railroads will occur. The present experience and the future results of the French railways, as large electric units are completed, will be of much service to American railroad managers.



# THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

BY JUDSON C. WELLIVER

ON February 24, 1923, President Harding asked the consent of the Senate to the adhesion of this country to the Protocol under which the Permanent Court of International Justice has been erected at The Hague. Since that time, both President Harding and President Coolidge in communications to Congress and in public addresses have urged this program. The Republican platform of 1924 favored it, while the Democratic platform renewed "its declaration of confidence in the ideal of world peace, the League of Nations and the World Court of Justice as together constituting the supreme effort of the statesmanship and religious conviction of our time to organize the world for peace." Thus the proposal rests with the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, which has never acted upon it but whose new chairman, Mr. Borah, of Idaho, has declared himself opposed to hasty dealings. It seems probable that in a not distant future the Senate will find the proposal one of the engrossing issues of its sessions.

## *The Courts' Relation to the League*

The only serious objection that has ever been urged against this proposal is based on the fact that the Court was created pursuant to a provision contained in the covenant of the League of Nations. This provision reads:

Article 14. The Council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute, or question referred to it by the Council or the Assembly.

Some irreconcilable opponents of the League of Nations have protested that our adhesion to the Court program was equivalent to entering the League "by the back door" after refusing to use the front door.

Supporters of the proposal, on the other hand, have insisted that our association with the Court would not involve relationship with the League, or any obligations under its covenant. This has been the attitude of President Harding and President Coolidge, who have declared that America's decision against participation in the League of Nations was final.

Whether or not our adhesion to the Court would ultimately prove a first step toward membership in the League, there is no doubt that most people who desire our membership in the League are strongly favorable to the Court plan. Despite a vast deal of discussion since President Harding took his first step, it must be said that present public opinion on the subject is much more largely based on predilection and prejudice than on information about the Court, its methods, and aims.

## *Adjudication vs. Arbitration*

To understand the whole issue, it is necessary to study some backgrounds of national policy which were set up long before the Court was organized. The United States has been traditionally committed to the widest feasible application of arbitral and judicial procedures in settling international differences. This country has participated in seventy-one international arbitrations, some of them of major importance, as, notably, the Geneva arbitration of the *Alabama* claims. But there is a wide difference between arbitration and adjudication; and there is no such extended record of judicial settlement for international differences, simply because no court had been provided. Advocates of adjudicature urged that it gives best promise of decisions based on justice and merit, whereas arbitration is likely to end in compromises which may substantially defeat justice. An illustration will make this point clear.

Suppose Canada should claim one thousand square miles of the State of Maine's territory adjacent to New Brunswick. The claim might be absolutely without legal justification. But if it were arbitrated, each Government would select, say, one arbitrator, and the two would agree on the third, who would be a citizen of some other country. The American and British arbitrators would inevitably become mere advocates in behalf of their respective countries, each seeking to convince the third arbitrator. Most arbitration experiences show that the tendency is for the third arbitrator to compromise. In the case suggested, he might propose that half the controverted territory be given to New Brunswick and the other half to Maine. The decision might violate all justice, but if both parties had bound themselves in advance to accept it, the United States would have to do so.

#### *Analogy to Our Supreme Court*

On the other hand, if the same controversy had been submitted to a Court of Justice, it would be decided by the application of established principles of law to the facts. The United States would get a verdict for its entire claim. Arbitrations have served usefully in many cases, but the tendency to compromises in which the substance of justice is sacrificed, is proved by much experience. Consequently, in recent times there has been increasing desire for creation of a competent international court. The United States has been a pioneer in urging this procedure. The American delegates at the first Hague Conference in 1899 were instructed to seek establishment of such a court. The conference set up, instead, a Permanent Court of Arbitration. It was in fact not a court at all. A panel of arbiters was provided, from which adhering countries might nominate representatives in arbitrations.

At the second Hague Conference, in 1907, Secretary Root instructed our delegates to use every possible influence to bring about the establishment of a real court. He proposed that the judges of this court should be judicial officers and nothing else, devoting their entire time to this duty and to be paid adequate salaries. One cannot read the language of Secretary Root and President Roosevelt, in this connection, without being convinced that their real aim was a sort of supreme court of the world, closely

analogous to the Supreme Court of the United States. Our Supreme Court has authority to decide cases as between the Federal Government and the States, or as between States. The world had never before known such a court. It must be said, further, that our Supreme Court did not prove capable of solving all the differences that might arise among States. If it had been an ideal court, it would have prevented the Civil War. Nevertheless, it was by a long way the nearest approach to a court deciding between conflicting sovereignties, the best model on which to mold a Supreme Court of the Nations.

#### *Proposal Came from America*

The second Hague Conference failed to establish such a court, notwithstanding that it considered the project at much length. It was coming to be almost universally realized by this time that the judicial rather than the arbitral determination of international issues was the way to permanent peace. But those jealousies among the states of Europe, which ultimately brought the war of 1914, were by this time so tense that it was found impossible to agree upon a mode of selecting judges. The project failed for the time, but Secretary Root and President Roosevelt were both convinced that important progress had been made, and that in more auspicious circumstances the last obstacle would be removed.

There has been much debate as to whether, if the Court had been established in 1907, the World War could have been prevented. Probably not. But if such a Court had been set up after the Napoleonic wars, it would probably have established in the succeeding century such a body of international law and procedure as would have made it possible to prevent the World War. It is generally believed now that if Sir Edward Grey could have brought the nations into conference in the last days of July, 1914, war could have been avoided. If a World Court with a century of traditions behind it had been in existence, it would probably have established in the public mind a prejudice in favor of negotiation, adjudication, and common sense, that would have stayed off the war until the world could take second thought. And a second thought, would almost certainly have made the conflict impossible.

When the Peace Conference of Versailles met, the world, just emerging from its

greatest horror, was full of the idea of enforcing peace through the rule of law. The time was propitious for establishing a World Court of Justice. Yet the best available evidence is that no proposal of this kind was included in the original draft of the League of Nations covenant. That suggestion was brought to Versailles through a telegram from the New York Bar Association, of which Mr. Root seems to have been the inspiration.

#### *Mr. Root Suggests Method of Choosing Judges*

At any rate, Article 14, already quoted, was inserted in the final draft of the League covenant. The extreme delicacy of the business is indicated by the fact that although the Versailles conference did not hesitate at grappling with any other problem of world composition, it turned over this task of creating a court to a committee of experts. Of these there were ten, five from great powers and five from small countries. This committee was named by the Council of the League of Nations; but the intention to make a court with a constitution broad enough to include nations not members of the League, seems to be indicated by the fact that Mr. Root was invited to sit on the committee. To his ingenuity and experience is due the removal of the obstacle that in 1907 had prevented establishment of the Court. He proposed a method of selecting judges upon which agreement proved possible.

It is through this mode of choosing judges that the Court is related to both the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the League of Nations. All the civilized nations of the world have become members of the Court of Arbitration. This membership entitles each nation to nominate not exceeding four persons who may serve as judges or, more properly, arbitrators. So this body represents the entire group of nations. Mr. Root proposed that these arbitrators should nominate candidates for judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Each national group is required to name four candidates, only two of whom may be of its nationality. This list of nominees is then laid before the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations. The final elections of judges are made by these two bodies, voting separately. The eleven persons receiving the highest numbers of votes are elected; and then four others are chosen as deputy judges, to sit in case any

of the regular judges may be unable to do so.

An ingenious plan is provided to prevent deadlocks. In such case, the Council and Assembly are to appoint a conference committee of three members, just as the two bodies of an American legislature do. This conference committee is to present to Council and Assembly its recommendations for the vacancies; these to be taken preferably from the list of nominees already described. But the conference committee may, by unanimous vote, present the names of qualified persons from outside the list of nominees. Finally, the possibility of a tie in the Council and Assembly, is obviated by the provision that in this event the judges already chosen may name the remaining judges. And if there should be a tie among the judges, then the oldest judge is to be given a casting vote, so that the tie may be broken. The wisdom of these detailed safeguards was shown in the first election of judges, when the Council and Assembly failed to agree on the entire list, and the conference committee was called in to make the selections possible.

#### *Personnel of the Court*

The present eleven judges are citizens of these eleven countries: Holland, France, Spain, Italy, Brazil, Cuba, England, Switzerland, the United States, Denmark, Japan. The deputy judges are from Norway, Rumania, China, and Serbia. The first President of the Court was M. Loder of Holland, who was succeeded in that post last September by Hans Max Huber of Switzerland. The Vice-President is Charles Andre Weiss of France.

The salaries of the judges, paid from the League of Nations funds, are approximately \$6,000, besides subsistence and per diem allowances when in actual service, aggregating possibly another \$6,000 annually. The President of the Court, who is presumed to live at The Hague, is given an extra allowance to maintain his social dignities.

Whether the Court is to be regarded as an organ of the League of Nations, has been the subject of much discussion. The headquarters of the League are at Geneva. The seat of the Court is at The Hague. The underlying statute of the Court, although prepared as a result of the League's initiative, was framed by an independent committee of jurists, one of whose most influen-

tial members was Mr. Root, although the United States is not in the League. Membership in the League does not make a nation an adherent of the Court; and non-membership in the League does not bar a nation from resort to the Court. The statute setting up the Court was adopted as an entirely independent matter. Even countries which are members of the League and have ratified the statute of the Court, do not all stand on the same footing, as will be shown.

The judges are required to be "persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law." They are chosen for a term of nine years.

The high character of the Court will be best suggested by a brief reference to the men who now compose it. President Huber of Switzerland is in years the youngest member. He is honorary professor of international law at Zurich University, jurisconsult to the Swiss Government in foreign affairs, delegate of Switzerland to the Second Hague Conference and the Versailles Peace Conference, and author of many works on international affairs.

M. Weiss, Vice-President, is a member of the Institute of France, professor of international law at the University of Paris, and author of many works on international law.

The senior judge is Robert Bannatyne, Viscount Finlay, of Great Britain, aged 82. He is a native of Scotland, for many years acknowledged leader of the British bar, who has served as Attorney-General and Lord Chancellor.

Bernard Cornelis Johannes Loder, of Holland, former member of the Supreme Court of the Netherlands, one of the founders of the International Maritime Committee in 1906, and representative of Holland in various international conferences.

M. Epitacio Pessoa, of Brazil, ex-President, member of the Supreme Court, and Minister of Justice, a distinguished lawyer and jurist.

Didrik Galtrup Gjedde Nyholm, of Denmark, member of the Danish Council of State, and judge of the International Court of Cairo.

Rafael Altamira y Crevea, of Spain, president of the Ibero-American Institute

of Comparative Law, Senator, and professor in the University of Madrid.

Antonio Sanchez de Bustamante, of Cuba, professor of International Law at the University of Havana, dean of the Havana bar, author, eminent statesman, and diplomat.

Yorozu Oda, of Japan, professor of International Law and rector of the University of Kyoto, author of works dealing with laws and customs of the Chinese.

Dionisio Anzilotti, of Italy, jurisconsult to the Italian Foreign Office, professor of International Law at the University of Rome, and editor of *Revista di Diritto Internazionale*, a leading international law periodical.

John Bassett Moore, of the United States, professor of International Law at Columbia University, former Assistant Secretary of State and Counselor of the State Department, secretary and counsel of the Spanish-American peace commission, and delegate to many other international conferences.

#### *How the Judges Are Named*

In view of the fact that the United States is not in the League of Nations, it is important to make clear the precise relation of the Permanent Court of International Justice to the League. First, nominations for judges are made by the national groups which comprise the Permanent Court of Arbitration. This latter court is entirely independent of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The United States is a member of it, so that in making nominations the United States would stand on precisely equal footing with all other nations. Further, judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice are not required to be citizens of countries members of the League of Nations.

#### *How Can the United States Participate?*

It is true, however, that the actual election of judges is by the Council and Assembly of the League. But in conducting the election the Council and Assembly act, not under the authority of the League of Nations Covenant, but under the fundamental statute of the Court; which fundamental statute has been adopted by the nations altogether independently of their adhesion to the League. Nevertheless, the relationship to the League is sufficiently intimate to have drawn from Secretary

Hughes the declaration that it constituted a fundamental objection to our adhesion. Both he and President Harding, and later President Coolidge, have expressed the confident opinion that the Court statute could be amended to allow the United States to send its representatives to the Council and Assembly to participate in elections, with other nations, and to permit the United States to pay its share of the expenses. Accordingly they have asked that in giving consent to our adhesion to the Court statute, the Senate should specifically declare that this did not involve us in any relation to the League or any obligations under it. The two reservations that have been proposed dealing with these features follow:

1. That such adhesion shall not be taken to involve any legal relations on the part of the United States to the League of Nations or the assumption of any obligations by the United States under the covenant of the League of Nations constituting Part I of the Treaty of Versailles.
2. That the United States shall be permitted to participate through representatives designated for the purpose and upon an equality with the other states members respectively of the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations in any and all proceedings of either the Council or the Assembly for the election of Judges or Deputy Judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice, or for the filling of vacancies.

#### *Forty-seven Nations Adhere*

Most of the nations have associated themselves with the Court. The list includes forty-seven countries:

Albania	Finland	Persia
Australia	France	Poland
Austria	Greece	Portugal
Belgium	Haiti	Rumania
Bolivia	Hungary	Salvador
Brazil	India	Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Kingdom of the
British Empire	Italy	Kingdom of the
Bulgaria	Japan	Siam
Canada	Latvia	South Africa, Union of
Chile	Liberia	Spain
China	Lithuania	Sweden
Colombia	Luxemburg	Switzerland
Costa Rica	Netherlands	Uruguay
Cuba	New Zealand	Venezuela
Czechoslovakia	Norway	
Denmark	Panama	
Estonia	Paraguay	

The only considerable powers not adhering are the United States, Germany, Russia, Turkey, and Mexico. Nevertheless, Germany has resorted to the Court in one quite important case. The decision was against Germany, and was promptly accepted. The case furnished illustration of one ingenious aspect of the Court plan. The statute provides that if two nations bring a case to the Court, and one of them has one of its nationals a member of the Court while the other is not so represented, then, in order to place them on precise equality, a special judge shall be appointed for this case, who shall be a national of the country that would otherwise be unrepresented. This procedure was followed.

It has been noted that forty-seven nations, a great majority of the world family, have accepted the Court. It is important to add, however, that only twenty-one of these have accepted what is called the optional clause giving the Court compulsory jurisdiction. Those which have accepted the compulsory jurisdiction plan are Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Haiti, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Portugal, Salvador, Sweden, Switzerland, and Uruguay. There is manifestly a very wide difference between the status of those accepting and those refusing compulsory jurisdiction. Not one of the so-called great powers has assented to compulsory jurisdiction. It is quite well understood that the United States, if it gives adhesion, will take the same attitude as the other first-class powers, and not accept compulsory jurisdiction.

Some of the Court's critics have insisted that until the great powers acknowledge compulsory jurisdiction, the tribunal would be of little weight for prevention of war. The other side has urged that the beginning already made is a good one, and that as the Court shall from time to time demonstrate its efficiency, the tendency will be for more nations to accept compulsory jurisdiction, and thus the Court will grow in authority actually to prevent war.



# AMERICAN CLAIMS AND GERMAN REPARATIONS

BY JOSEPH CONRAD FEHR

(Of Counsel for the United States before the American-German Claims Arbitration in Washington)

WHEN Secretary of State Hughes by his timely appearance abroad last summer saved the London Conference from wreck, he not only saved the day for the allied governments and Germany but also measurably improved the situation of the United States and thousands of American nationals holding claims against Germany.

It is altogether a misconception that the United States is not interested in the success or failure of the Dawes Reparations Plan. As a matter of fact, if, as is most likely, S. Parker Gilbert, the Agent General for Reparations Payments, and his associates are successful in executing this plan as mapped out, the United States will profit materially with her wartime allies, even though the American lawyers and financiers now engaged upon this gigantic task of reconstruction are merely unofficial representatives of the United States.

## *Will the Allied Debts Be Paid from Reparations?*

Our Government's cost of maintaining American troops along the Rhine after the Armistice, amounting to \$255,544,810.53, as stated January 31, 1923, is perhaps the item most frequently identified by Americans with the reparations problem. And this popular notion is due largely to the conference held last year in Paris between Eliot Wadsworth, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and the representatives of the other allied governments, at which it was agreed that this claim should be adjusted out of reparations payments. This is a comparatively small part of the aggregate claim which the United States is putting forward for payment by Germany.

If the reparations machinery now set up accomplishes its purpose it is quite possible that the war debts owing to the United States by England, France, Italy, Belgium,

and the smaller debtor nations will be eventually liquidated out of German reparations payments, thus presenting the anomalous situation of Germany furnishing Europe the funds necessary to defray about 80 per cent. of the debts owing America by her war-time allies, just as this country in 1917 and 1918 supplemented her man power by financing the allies to win the war.

## *Our Own Claims Against Germany*

Of more vital interest to Americans generally, however, is the effect, if any, which Germany's reparations payments will have upon the ultimate disposition of the American claims against Germany being adjudicated by the Mixed Claims Commission, United States and Germany, now sitting in Washington, which was created under the executive agreement entered into between the United States and Germany on August 10, 1922, with full powers to determine Germany's liability and the measure of damages involved in each claim.

No provision was or has yet been made for the financial satisfaction of these so-called American reparations claims. It was understood that some definite arrangement would subsequently be made providing ways and means of payment. And in this connection it should be noted that under the Knox-Porter Peace Resolution, which was adopted as a part of the Treaty of Berlin, the former enemy property seized during the war by the Alien Property Custodian is specifically set apart as security, or a pledge, to insure Germany's payment of these claims. Indeed, even the actual use of this property as a fund out of which to pay the claims has been frequently advocated but so far not deliberately considered by Congress, which is, under the law, the only power to say what shall be done with the property thus sequestered. So until the London Conference put the

Dawes Plan into operation many Americans claimants despaired of ever being paid.

#### *Awards in the "Lusitania" and Other Claims*

It is to Germany's reparations payments under the Dawes Plan that many Americans with claims against Germany are, therefore, now turning with hopes for funds to pay their claims. America's peculiar interest in German reparations, which has heretofore been generally regarded as a distinctly European problem, has been stimulated largely on account of the awards announced from time to time during the past year by the Mixed Claims Commission, particularly with respect to claims for loss of life or personal injuries arising out of such affairs as the sinking of the *Lusitania*, on May 7, 1915.

Besides the awards in the *Lusitania* cases, aggregating to October 5, 1924, \$1,267,803.70, which have, perhaps, been the most sacred trust of the Department of State, the Commission has since its organization two years ago entered awards totalling nearly \$82,903,678.69, and dismissed several thousand cases ill-grounded on legal principles, thus disposing, in principle, of about 6,000 out of the more than 12,000 claims on file. These dispositions include settlements of claims based on loss of life, personal injuries, and the loss of hulls and cargoes through Germany's submarine warfare, debts, sequestrations, requisitions, insurance, American interests in German estates, and claims of prisoners of war, as well as the so-called *Lusitania* claims.

#### *Bound by the Treaty of Berlin*

Of the more than 12,000 claims originally filed with the American Agency for presentation to the Commission, in which the total amount demanded was \$1,479,064,313.92, the Commission has already peremptorily dismissed 3,190 claims seeking reimbursement of war-risk insurance premiums paid by American shippers during the war for insurance against losses which never occurred, in the total amount of over \$345,000,000, on the grounds that they are not losses within the legal contemplation nor within the intendment of the Treaty of Berlin, which is the Commission's charter.

In its adjudications the Commission is controlled by the Treaty of Berlin. It is not concerned with the Treaty of Versailles as such, but only with those provisions

thereof which have been incorporated into the Treaty of Berlin. And when the Treaty of Berlin is inapplicable in arriving at the measure of damages, the Commission resorts to international conventions, international custom, rules of law common to the United States and Germany, the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations, judicial decisions, and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists as subsidiary means for the determination of rules and doctrines of law. In the absence of these definite guideposts the Commission will not be bound by any particular code of rules of law, but by justice, equity and good faith.

#### *Uncle Sam the Real Claimant*

The main question in all international arbitrations is predicated upon the citizenship of the respective claimants. In this connection the Commission has ruled that although the United States Government is conducting this proceeding on behalf of its nationals who have been injured or damaged by acts attributable to Germany or her agents, the American Government is nevertheless the real party in interest. For this reason the claims presented to the Commission are asserted and controlled by the United States as the actual claimant, either on its own behalf or on behalf of one or more of its nationals.

Without reference to any particular claim the Commission in laying down some fundamental rules governing the tribunal's powers and limitations, has decided that "In order to bring a claim (other than a Government claim) within the jurisdiction of this Commission, the loss must have been suffered by an American national, and the claim for such loss must have since continued in American ownership." And by way of explanation the Commission points out that the United States, which is the claimant in all these individual suits, must have been injured directly, or on account of injury to one of its nationals and that it was not so injured if the injured person seeking redress "was at the time of suffering the injury a citizen of another state."

#### *Greatest Arbitration of History*

Thus actuated in the work of this tremendous arbitration, which is by far the greatest in the history of the world, the Mixed Claims Commission has far exceeded the record made by all similar proceedings

to which the United States has been a party. This remarkable achievement can only be appreciated when it is recalled that during the 120 years before the outbreak of the World War the United States was a party to seventy-one distinct and completed international arbitrations with twenty-four different nations involving pecuniary demands of all kinds. The awards entered of record in these seventy-one arbitrations aggregated less than \$93,000,000, the largest settlement of all being the so-called Geneva award in favor of the United States amounting to \$15,500,000. And this single proceeding, known as the famous Alabama Arbitration, alone required about five years to settle 1,701 claims, including 448 for war-risk insurance premiums which were summarily rejected.

President Coolidge in his annual message to Congress made special reference to America's claims against Germany, thus focusing the attention of the country on the Commission now sitting in judgment upon them.

#### *An American Chosen as Arbiter*

It is particularly noteworthy that the organization of this tribunal by the United States and Germany marks the first instance in America's long calendar of arbitral proceedings with other nations in which an American was selected, upon the suggestion of the opposing nation, to serve as umpire of the tribunal. Neither is it of record that such a distinct compliment of unstinted confidence in the integrity of any nation has ever before been so emphasized in any similar action. And it is particularly striking in that the Commission is entertaining claims only of the United States and her nationals against Germany. To return this great compliment the United States, with the entire approval of Germany, selected the late William R. Day, who at that time was one of the ablest and most experienced members of the Supreme Court of the United States, to preside over the Commission as umpire. Judge Edwin B. Parker of Texas and New York, one of America's foremost lawyers, who was Priorities Commissioner on the War Industries Board during the war and later chairman of the United States Liquidation Commission which went to Europe following the war and settled some \$1,600,000,000 in claims, accepted the appointment as American Commissioner. Germany also

sent to Washington one of her ablest specialists in International Law in the person of Dr. Wilhelm Kiesselbach, of Hamburg, who serves as German Commissioner.

Upon the resignation of the venerable Justice Day shortly before his death last year, the two Governments decided to promote Judge Parker, the American Commissioner, to the vacant position of final arbiter in recognition of his pronounced abilities and his fairness as the American member of the Commission. Judge Parker was succeeded by Chandler P. Anderson, of Washington and New York, whose varied experiences in connection with several important international commissions and tribunals during the past twenty years have made him a valuable addition to this dignified tribunal.

The United States is represented before the Commission by its Agent, Robert W. Bonyngé, a well-known New York lawyer and former Member of Congress from Colorado who served for some years on the United States Monetary Commission, and he is assisted by a staff of attorneys with H. H. Martin of Washington as chief counsel. The German Agent and chief counsel is Dr. Karl von Lewinski, who is perhaps his country's best known authority on the Treaty of Versailles.

#### *Reduction in Aggregate of Claims*

In the settlement of the claims in question the Commission is governed entirely by judicial, not arbitrary, administrative, means. Each claim has its day in court and under the rules announced by the Commission is adjudicated; that is to say, disposed of by a decision based on sound legal principles. The tribunal is, therefore, not merely a fact-finding body but is an international court of law and justice passing upon the merits of each individual case in the numerous groups of claims coming within the purview of the Treaty of Berlin. These well-reasoned decisions touch upon nearly every branch of municipal and international law, and are distinct contributions to international law.

In accordance with the decisions and opinions handed down by the umpire, Judge Parker, and the Commission, paving the way as they do for the disposition of various groups of claims which the Government of the United States has given into the charge of the American Agent with a view of presentation to the Commission for

determination, Mr. Bonynge and his staff of counsel have been able to file with the Commission more than 4,000 claims upon which the Commission has either entered an award or ordered a dismissal. Included in these cases are practically all of the 3,190 claims seeking reimbursement for war-risk insurance premiums paid during the war, which the Commission, through Umpire Parker, ordered dismissed as not coming within the category of losses prescribed for compensation by the Treaty of Berlin. By this sweeping decision the total amount claimed was cut from the original tentative demand of \$1,479,064,313.92, which represented the aggregate amount of the more than 12,000 claims filed with the American Agency, down to approximately \$1,133,641,517.75. America's claim for the cost of maintaining American troops in the Army of Occupation along the Rhine is, however, still included in this figure.

By reason of their ability and willingness to coöperate in the satisfactory settlement of these classes of claims, Mr. Bonynge and Dr. von Lewinski have succeeded in arriving at agreements relative to more than 600 claims. With the rules and principles announced by the Commission as a basis, the American and German Agents have together examined hundreds of claims covered by such decisions, and after reaching proposed settlements have presented jointly signed statements of fact to the Commission with their recommendations, and these recommendations have practically all been approved by the Commission. In this manner both the American and German Agents, while in Berlin this summer examining evidence, were able to agree on the proposed settlement of about 200 of the more complicated claims aggregating nearly \$12,000,000.

#### *How the Payments May Be Made*

The matter of paying these claims will undoubtedly be an item which Germany must consider in connection with her reparations payments. Under the Dawes Plan Germany will have to pay, in satisfaction of claims accruing from the war, 2,500 million gold marks in each "standard year." The payments will be made from interest on railway bonds and industrial debentures, and from the transport tax and the budget.

These figures, however, do not include the proceeds from the sale of capital assets which may be effected by the creditor governments.

As soon as the plan is put into execution the Reparations Commission will be in possession of bonds for sixteen billion marks (eleven million railroad bonds and five billion industrial debentures), which may be sold to the extent that financial markets are capable of absorbing them. Subsequently, bonds representing the transport tax and the contribution from the budget may be issued and will enable the governments to realize the capital of their claims.

To secure satisfaction to the American claimants in whose behalf awards have been and are to be entered by the Mixed Claims Commission, the United States Government could either avail itself of the annual payments due from Germany, which would mean participation in these annuities on a percentage basis, or it could make use of the bonds themselves by either distributing them among the claimants or by issuing its own bonds on the strength of the security represented by the German bonds and debentures.

This new enhancement to the prestige and authority of international jurisprudence, though still in its infancy, is becoming more and more effective as a leaven of honor among nations. And even though a writer and publicist as modern as Pollock of Oxford had little faith that "a tribunal of arbitration appointed at this day under a treaty between sovereign states" could compel the rulers of such states "to fulfil its award" the thorough and amazingly expeditious work of the Mixed Claims Commission in the past two years demonstrates to the world that the American principle and practice of arbitration with respect to claims and other disputes between nations is not merely an idle speculation or theory of international dreamers and pacifists. On the contrary, America has repeatedly demonstrated to the world that if properly approached Arbitration can be the machinery for the practical working out of every sort of international problem and difficulty because of the solemn sanction which nations concerned give to the observance of settlements thus arrived at.



A REDWOOD FOREST IN CALIFORNIA—FIFTY-YEAR-OLD, SECOND-GROWTH TREES  
(One acre in fifty years will produce lumber enough to build seven bungalows of five rooms each)

## CALIFORNIA'S NEWEST CROP: THE REDWOOD TREE

BY S. R. BLACK

(Secretary, California Forest Protective Association)

WILL a tree grow as fast as compound interest? Will an acre of young trees be worth as much in sixty years as a twenty-dollar gold piece, if put out at compound interest over the same period? In many regions, conditions may give compound interest the advantage; but in California lumbermen are betting on the tree to win, and they are backing their faith with large expenditures for the development of California's newest crop—redwoods.

This new crop is being raised in much the same way that a farmer raises a crop of hay. After harvesting the wild crop, cutover lands are first prepared, then planted with young trees, and afterwards the crop is cared for and protected while growing. This treatment of forest growth as a reproducible crop is a matter of great national importance. It marks a turning point in the history of the United States.

The first efforts of the pioneer forefathers of America were spent in clearing the land of timber so that crops of food and forage might be raised. As the country developed this procedure spread across the continent,

the axe of the woodsman being followed by the plow of the farmer. In time the demand for lumber exceeded the demand for new farm land, so the cutting of forests on non-agricultural land began. Over three-fourths of the virgin forest area has now been cut or burned over.

### *Timber-Raising a Neglected Industry*

Had fire been kept out of the cutover areas, a stand of second-growth trees would now be growing, which would adequately supply the country's future lumber needs. Unfortunately, during the period when our timber supply was thought unlimited, fires were allowed to run at will, with the result that a large part of the second-growth timber was destroyed. This is especially true in the Lake States, where repeated burning has left the major portion of once timbered land practically barren of commercial tree growth.

In recent years there has been a feeling that timber-raising as a business should be carried on in this country as it is in Europe. For generations the industry has been found

both necessary and profitable in France, Germany, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and other places; and it has been fostered and encouraged by the adoption of special tax, fire, and general forestry laws. Lack of similar consideration has greatly retarded development in the United States.

Fire, taxes, carrying charges, future markets, wood substitutes, and confiscatory legislation are some of the hazards that confront the person who contemplates reforestation in this country. As with most dangers, they take on increased magnitude from their indefiniteness. No one can foretell what they will be in sixty, seventy, or one hundred years. No one can do more than guess at the ultimate effect of those hazards upon the profits that should be obtained from money invested in the business of raising new forests. It is apparent, however, that within some sixty years the lumber supply of the nation will be derived in a large measure from second-growth trees. Consequently, interest in reforestation has been increasing. Its possibilities in some of the regions best adapted to tree growth have been given careful study.

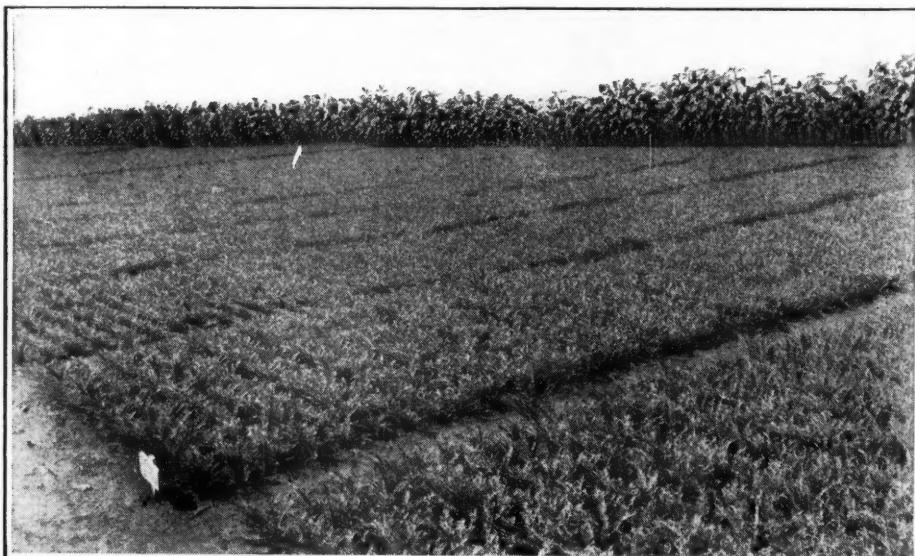
#### *A Scientific Study of Redwood Growth*

Finally, the growing of new forests as a business has come into its own, for in California the planting and caring for new redwood forests have passed beyond the ex-

perimental stage, and from now on they will go hand in hand with the harvesting of nature's wild crop. That this is being done without waiting for the adoption of favorable forestry laws is a real tribute to the courage and earnestness of the men who are carrying on the work.

Upon request of the redwood lumbermen, the division of forestry of the University of California made a careful study of the rate of development of second-growth timber in various parts of the redwood region. A total of 136 sample plots were used as the basis, in order that the investigation might show actual conditions liable to be encountered in reforesting large cutover areas. The study showed that redwood had a more rapid rate of growth than any other species of the valuable commercial trees. On some plots where the trees were about fifty years old the volume was as high as 100,000 board feet per acre—which means that one acre in fifty years produced lumber enough to build seven five-room bungalows. While this was above the average, the data obtained on growth through the region proved to be very encouraging.

As the rate of growth appeared satisfactory, the next important item to be considered was quality. Again the lumbermen called upon the university. Second-growth trees from fifty to sixty years of age that had grown up on old logged-over lands



A LUMBER COMPANY'S FOREST NURSERY, SHOWING SEEDLING REDWOODS

(Four million young redwoods were raised during the past season)



PLANTING REDWOOD TREES ON "LOGGED-OVER" LAND

(The ground is thoroughly cleared before planting. What appear to be bushes are stumps surrounded by new growth)

were cut and the logs sent through the sawmills. Naturally this young timber could not be expected to furnish the wide clear lumber that old trees do, but the grade of lumber obtained was of a very fair quality and exceeded the expectations of most of those conducting the investigation.

The work of the forestry division of the University was exceedingly helpful to the cause of reforestation, for it showed that a good quantity and quality of redwood timber could be raised in as short a time as fifty or sixty years. Upon receiving this information, lumber companies representing two-thirds of the total redwood output definitely adopted a program for the reforestation of their cutover lands.

#### *A Harvest in Fifty Years*

This program, the first large commercial one for the perpetuation of the nation's forests, was put into effect as rapidly as field conditions would permit. The first move was to employ technically trained foresters to supervise the planting of the new crop and the harvesting of the old one in such a way that a continuous yield of forest products might be obtained.

To secure a continuous yield, the old timber already on the ground must last until the new crop is ready for market. Investigation showed that a stand of seventy billion feet of virgin redwood timber existed outside of the areas given to the State for park purposes; and as the average cut

now is about a half-billion feet per year, this means that the old timber will fill demands for lumber for 140 years. Even if the annual cut is doubled in the future, the old supply will still be adequate, for the man-raised crops may be harvested once every fifty or sixty years. Where necessary, logging plans were changed to meet individual conditions in such a way that cutting would not increase faster than growth of the new crop. When this had been done the efforts of the lumbermen were concentrated upon finding the best method by which they could reforest their cutover lands.

The ability of redwood to reproduce itself by sprouting, and its rapid growth, are the outstanding characteristics of the species. Because of these, a method of reforesting the cutover lands is used that would not be possible with any other soft-wood tree. Normally the shoots that grow up around old stumps will stock cutover land to 20 or 30 per cent. of its capacity. If redwood grew slowly, probably this reproduction would be all that could be obtained with any chance of making a profit; for compound interest on planting costs, over a long period of years, reaches a total out of all proportion with the returns that the timber can be expected to give. But believing that redwood would grow faster than compound interest over a period of sixty years, the lumbermen decided to plant up the spaces between sprouts with seedlings.



**PLANTING REDWOOD SEEDLINGS**  
(Natural sprouts in the background)

#### *Planting for a Redwood Crop*

It was much easier to decide upon planting, however, than to carry out the decision. There was nothing to plant. When a farmer wants to plant hay he can easily purchase seed, or if he decides to raise an orchard he can buy nursery stock several years old. Conditions were much more complicated for those desiring to plant redwoods. Neither redwood seed nor seedlings could be purchased for planting on as large a scale as was contemplated by the redwood operators.

Men had to be sent into the woods to gather cones. The cones gathered, the seed had to be extracted, and then nurseries had to be developed where the young seedlings could be raised until large enough for transplanting on the logged-over lands. In spite of the many difficulties encountered this new branch of the lumber industry has made very good progress.

In 1923 the nurseries produced 750,000 seedlings large enough for transplanting, and these were set out between the groups of natural sprouts on 700 acres of cutover land. Last season the capacity of the nurseries was increased and they raised over four million young redwoods. This supply is sufficient to stock 3000 acres, and planting crews are now engaged in transferring these seedlings to the field.

The size of the yearly plantations is limited by the capacity of the nurseries, but a schedule has been worked out so that in five years 10,000 acres per year can be planted. By 1930 the area stocked with

young trees will equal the area logged-over annually, with a margin sufficient to cover land cutover previous to the decision to make redwood logging permanent. In view of the progress already made, there is good reason to believe that this final goal will be reached even before 1930.

#### *Preparation and Care*

As with any other crop, the yield of redwood depends to a large extent upon preparation of the ground and subsequent care. To anyone not familiar with redwood, preparation of the ground seems to be the last word in forest devastation. In fact, pictures of logged-off redwood land are sometimes used as horrible examples of forest destruction. What appears to be forest devastation is, however, merely protection of the future crop, for success depends upon the complete removal of the "slash" or logging débris.

There are several reasons why the land should be thoroughly cleaned before the new crop is started. The most important of these is the fire hazard. If not burned, the slash would remain a constant threat against the security of the young forest, for if a fire should get started in the slash it would be hot enough to wipe out the plantation. Removing the logging débris also removes the protective covering of rabbits and rodents that often cause heavy losses by girdling the tender seedlings and sprouts. A clean area also helps the planting crews, reduces planting costs, and gives the young trees an even start with brush and weeds. In fact the raising of timber crops is similar to the raising of farm crops; and while neither the logged-over land nor the stubble field are things of beauty, they are necessary steps in the production of the new crop.

As soon as weather conditions permit, therefore, fire lines are placed around reforestation units, and all bark, limbs, and brush are burned off. Once burned, the areas are patrolled to keep out fires during the growth of the forest.

The thoroughness with which the redwood lumbermen went into the problem of reforestation, and the hearty support given the program when their investigations were completed, insure the continuous production of crops of redwood in California. And by virtue of the rapid advance made in carrying out their plans, reforestation of the redwoods takes first place in the movement to perpetuate the forests of America.

# CHILD LABOR: PROBLEM IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

BY RAYMOND G. FULLER

(Author of "Child Labor and the Constitution")

THE laws of only eighteen States measure up fully to the protective standards of the former Federal laws with respect to the employment of children in mills, factories, and canneries. Those standards (in addition to the sixteen-year age minimum for mines and quarries) were: A fourteen-year age minimum for mills, factories and canneries, with an eight-hour day, a forty-eight-hour week and no night-work for children under sixteen in these mills, factories and canneries. The deficiencies of State laws are of varying degrees of importance. All but two States nominally prohibit industrial labor under the age of fourteen, but many of the statutes are seriously weakened by exceptions and exemptions. Twelve States fall below the eight-hour standard. Four place no restriction on night work. In numerous respects the State laws fall short of meeting the obvious need of working children of different ages in different occupations. One State has made no improvement in its child-labor law in the past ten years, and its statutory provisions are decidedly poor.

## *Federal Amendment Before the States*

The properly so-called child-labor amendment, product of the same public opinion which procured the Federal child-labor acts of 1916 and 1919, is now before the States for ratification, having been formally proposed last spring by more than the necessary two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress.

The amendment, however, has become the subject of much misunderstanding. Arkansas has ratified, but Georgia and North Carolina have rejected. In the Louisiana legislature a resolution to ratify failed of passage. The people of Massachusetts, by a referendum vote of 696,000 to 247,000, advised negatively on ratification, and though their next legislature will doubtless act accordingly, it is likely to remember the fact

that the popular campaign, from the standpoint of propagandist resources and activities, was rather one-sided—the side, as Napoleon would have said, of the heaviest battalions.

These beginning, with initial defeats, are by no means fatal to the amendment cause, but while time is long, childhood is fleeting. Between thirty-five and forty States will have the amendment before them at legislative sessions in 1925.

It is important to view the amendment in its historical setting—as an outgrowth of precedent events. First, the long history of State legislation, beginning with a Massachusetts act of 1836. Then, such gross inadequacy of legislation in some of the States as to lead, about twenty years ago, to a strong and widespread demand for Federal action. Then, successively, two Federal child-labor acts, both of which were declared unconstitutional. And now the proposed amendment, due to the continued backwardness of not a few States in protecting (or not protecting) American children within their borders.

Opponents of the amendment, in their attempt to minimize the present amount of child labor in the backward States, quote the census figures of 1920, which were obtained when the Federal child labor tax law was still in operation and at the beginning of a period of widespread industrial depression and unemployment. The total number of children from ten to fifteen years of age reported in gainful occupations was 1,060,858. Of these, 413,449 were in non-agricultural pursuits; of these, 185,337 were in manufacturing and mechanical industries; of these, 54,649 were in the textile industries; of these, 21,875 were in cotton-mill work. Of the children from ten to thirteen years of age, 49,105 were engaged in non-agricultural employments, and 9,473 in manufacturing and mechanical industries.

*Restored Federal Standards Would Reach Backward States*

The Federal law by its age, hour and night-work provisions affected the backward States, not the advanced States; and it is in the backward States that the increase in industrial child labor since 1920, particularly since 1922, has taken place, as shown by recent test studies. We do not know the present number of wage-workers under fourteen, or under sixteen, but we do know that there is no adequate or nationwide protection against the exploitation of more when and where conditions favor. In any case, the thousands to-day mean more thousands next year, and in the course of a decade an appalling total; for child labor is a continuous process, a constant procession. It is worthy of special note that the restoration of the former Federal standards would include the eight-hour provision; and that in 1920, according to the census, there were 61,000 boys and girls under sixteen employed in the mills and factories (not to mention other workplaces) of the States that still permit longer than an eight-hour workday—nine hours, ten hours, eleven hours, “sunrise to sunset.”

During the period of Federal law and administration, extending, with an intermission, from 1917 to 1922, a number of the very backward States, freed of the competition of neighboring States with low-standard child-labor laws, made remarkable progress in raising their own legal standards of child protection. But whatever hope we may have entertained that the other very backward States would go and do likewise has been disappointed by the legislative record of 1923 and 1924. Federal law and administration had come to an end, and seemed likely to stay at an end indefinitely. So we still have States that are willing, or feel constrained, to subsidize their industries with child labor of a gross and shameful sort that is no longer tolerated elsewhere in this country, while States that now have decent or more than decent legal standards are finding increased difficulty in enforcing their own child-labor laws. The existence of Federal law and administration helped the States to live up to those professions of good will toward children which they had written into their statutes. Out of the lessons of experience the Association of Governmental Labor Officials of the United

States and Canada, representing thirty-one American States, has declared unanimously in favor of the child-labor amendment and expressed “the belief that the enactment of Federal child-labor legislation will aid the States in the enactment and administration of child-labor laws.”

*What Power is Granted to Congress?*

The Federal acts were passed under express powers (the power to regulate interstate commerce and the power to levy taxes) in association with which an implied police power may be exercised, but both erred with respect to subject matter; the amendment is designed to remove this difficulty as to subject matter. It will enable Congress to deal with child labor as child labor, not as something incidental to taxes or interstate commerce. The amendment reads:

Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

Section 2. The power of the several States is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress.

The power thus granted to Congress is neither a new nor an extraordinary power, as will be shown. Its appearance of novelty is due to the fact that all Federal powers are delegated powers and to the consequence that any grant of power to the central authority has to be described and defined in words and those words put into the Constitution. The words of the proposed amendment were chosen with the aid, and meet the approval, of able constitutional lawyers, like Dean Roscoe Pound of Harvard and Dean Lewis of the University of Pennsylvania. They were selected as free from ambiguity, and as expressing simply the intent of the amendment—to give Congress authority to pass another child-labor law.

It is said the proposed amendment gives Congress power to establish higher standards than those of the former Federal acts. Very true. The people who criticize the proposed amendment on this ground would be better pleased if all sound principles of amending the fundamental law had been violated. The amendment is properly couched in general terms and properly conveys a general power (most of the original Federal powers are general). By the use of,

more specific terms than those employed, or by restriction of the power granted to that sufficient merely for the passage of such a Federal law as may now be thought necessary or desirable, the amendment would have partaken too much of the nature of legislation. It is said, for example, why include agriculture? The answer is, why exclude it? Agriculture is not included specifically, but generally. Its exclusion would have been specific—and legislative. The matter of exclusion and inclusion, so far as particular occupations or groups of occupations are concerned, should be left to legislation. It has no place in a general grant of power by constitutional amendment.

The "under-eighteen-years" limit is a constitutional maximum and not a legal minimum. It is there because a constitutional amendment is supposed to last a long time, and because it was thought unwise, on account of unforeseen conditions or contingencies that might occur in the next hundred years, or the next five hundred, to circumscribe unduly the general grant of power given to Congress with reference to the labor of young persons. It is there, also, to permit, if and when considered advisable, such special provisions relating to dangerous occupations, hours of labor and night work as are found in all good State laws. This explains why the amendment contains, besides the word "prohibit," the words "limit" and "regulate." No reasonable person wishes or expects Congress to prohibit the labor of all persons under eighteen years of age in all occupations, not even "gainful employment" in the census meaning of that term.

#### *Safeguards Against Abuse of Power*

The proposed child-labor amendment is not a proposed law, and sets up no standards of legislation to which Congress must conform. Congressional action under the power granted by the amendment is left entirely—and rightly—to public opinion and representative government. To withhold legislative power for fear it might be abused wou'd be to stop legislation altogether. A certain amount of discretion on the part of a representative legislative body must be assumed by the citizens by whom its members are elected and to whom they are responsible, else representative government is a failure and some substitute for it must be found. Attempts to defeat the amendment by dis-

paraging Congress are ill-advised. From the things that are now being said about that constitutional agency by opponents of the child-labor amendment, one might suppose that these people want to abolish Congress. True it is that if Congress cannot be trusted with the power to legislate on child labor (as it has twice done before), it cannot be trusted with any other power. There may be defects in our system of representative government, nationally, but they are not to be corrected by implying, more than implying, that Congress is a bad institution, composed mostly of fools and knaves.

The power "to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age" is no more dangerous than powers already possessed by Congress in other fields, or than the power possessed by the States in the same field; and there is the same safeguard against its abuse that exists with regard to any and every other governmental power—the safeguard of common sense and public opinion acting through representative government. There is also the safeguard of the Bill of Rights, particularly the Fifth and Ninth Amendments.

#### *The Question of State Rights*

Washington said that the basis of our system of government is the right of the people to alter their constitution. But altering their constitution is not the same thing as changing their governmental system. The framers of the Constitution delegated to the Federal government those powers which they thought in 1787 were essentially national in character or could best be exercised by the central authority; other powers they reserved to the States. They left to the sovereign people the right, the responsibility and the method of redistributing the delegated Federal powers and reserved State powers as longer experience and new developments might require.

State rights are purely constitutional rights, and like all other constitutional rights derive their sanction from the Constitution itself and ultimately from the sovereign people of the preamble. It has long been established that the States are not sovereign in the sense of "a political community without a political superior," to use Lincoln's words in 1861. The States, however, are obligated by Article V, which provides that three-fourths of their number

may effect an amendment of the Constitution. It is part of the contract into which they entered. The dissenting States by that contract are required to abide by the decision of the three-fourths or more. I submit that if three-fourths of the States desire to give the Federal government a share of responsibility in the control of child labor, now a national problem, there is no departure from our dual system of government, but only a dual use of that system to meet a modern social need.

As to the nature and scope of the power granted to Congress by the proposed amendment it is the same in kind but less in extent than that possessed by the States. Congress cannot legislate regarding the labor of persons eighteen years old, while all the States can and many do legislate in what is commonly called the child-labor field up to the age of twenty-one. The majority of States have provisions reaching up to at least the age of eighteen. In order to have given Congress power equal to that already possessed by the State it would have been necessary to set the age limit in the amendment at twenty-one,—which is doubtless the age limit which the Supreme Court would be obliged to assume if none were specified.

The Federal government has no powers except those expressly given and those impliedly necessary to the exercise of such express powers. In the child-labor cases, the Supreme Court denied that regulation of child labor was impliedly necessary to the exercise of either the interstate commerce power or the taxing power. The power conveyed by the amendment is limited strictly to labor, and Congress could not constitutionally deal even indirectly with education, religion or home life. By the "due process" clause of the Fifth Amendment (which the proposed 20th Amendment does not repeal and which therefore stands) and by the "rule of reason," Congress can legislate on child labor only to the extent regarded by the Supreme Court as reasonably necessary to protect child health and the general welfare.

The only kind of Federal law wanted, needed or possible to obtain is, therefore, a law embodying standards above the lowest standards of State legislation and below the highest State standards. The proposed amendment and the anticipated legislation under it are not intended to relieve the States of responsibility or opportunity for

State action in accordance with varying local conditions. Section II safeguards the right of every State to protect its own children to the fullness of their need.

#### *Regulation of Farm Work Not Proposed*

A workless childhood or youth would be a calamity; nobody proposes any such thing; that is not the purpose or effect of child-labor legislation, either State or Federal. Some confusion has arisen in the minds of farmers because certain organizations favoring the amendment have also made studies of the work that children actually do in the country places and have described it in their reports—the good kinds, such as chores and club work, along with the bad kinds, such as real child labor in the great sugar-beet fields. But these reports condemn only the bad kinds of work, not the good kinds, and in any case have nothing to do with the proposed amendment to the Constitution. The States have always had the power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of young persons in agriculture, and the only two instances in which it has ever been used in any significant way have been in connection with industrialized forms of agriculture in which children are employed in wholesale numbers, like the boys and girls in factories and mills.

Every competent student of the rural child-labor problem knows that prohibitions and regulations properly applicable to industrial employment would be impracticable with regard to the home farm. There are, as suggested, industrialized forms of agriculture in which something of the sort is needed, but the most desirable and effective methods have not yet been worked out and proved in practice, and the States should be left free to study what ought and can be done, before Federal action of any kind is attempted. There is abuse of the labor power of children even on the home farm, but this is a matter better left to the growth of higher standards of family and community life, and to the achievement of economic freedom for the farmer. Where there is actual abuse of farm children through their premature or excessive labor, by reason of parental cruelty or the cruelty of poverty, the particular case should be dealt with by the juvenile court, which is now being developed in rural counties, or by other welfare agencies public or private. On the whole the American home farm remains an excellent environment.

# THE TRUTH ABOUT SPAIN AND PRIMO DE RIVERA

BY HARRIET CHALMERS ADAMS, F.R.G.S.

AFTER more than a year as Dictator of Spain, General Primo de Rivera is still the most-talked-of man in Europe. In the United States the press is flooded with misinformation regarding the Military Directorate and conditions in Spain and Spanish Morocco in general. This is the result of clever propaganda launched, in greater part from Paris, by the enemies of the new régime,—by those men who played star rôle in that old régime of graft and greed which wrecked the Spanish nation.

Recently I spent eight months in Spain and Morocco. Long a student of Spain and her former colonies, a traveler in every land that was ever Spain's, I went once more to the Mother Land of the Americas to study conditions under the Military Directorate. I went with an unbiased viewpoint.

Before going to Madrid or meeting Primo de Rivera, I traveled throughout the country talking with Spaniards of all classes. In the north, south, east and west I saw the beginnings of many needful changes. I saw the cleaning out of bandits' nests, the suppression of smuggling, the closing of gambling houses, the building of roads, the improvement of harbors, the opening of schools. I saw few unemployed as compared with the rest of Europe, and the *peseta* climbing up hill.

At first indifferent to the upheaval in Madrid—since, after centuries of misrule, any form of government to the masses of Spaniards meant bad government—faith in a cleaner régime has now been born.

"The General is honest," they told me at first, "but the politicians are strong. They always come back."

And eight months later:

"The General is honest; and he is strong. Perhaps he will prove stronger than the politicians."

Personally I came firmly to believe that the Military Directorate, consisting of eight patriots with Primo de Rivera at the



GENERAL MIGUEL PRIMO DE RIVERA  
(President of the Military Directorate in Spain)

head, rules for the betterment of Spain, for the abolition of graft throughout the nation. This means a vastly improved condition for 22,000,000 Spaniards.

Primo de Rivera is too busy with a constructive policy, too intent on spending any available funds on Spain's new foundation, to send out a stream of counter-propaganda against his enemies. They are rich and powerful, these enemies of the General's. They keep the wires from Paris humming with rumors of dissatisfaction in Madrid and Spanish errors and reverses in Morocco. Enemies of the Military Directorate, they are at the same time enemies of

the King, for the King and Primo de Rivera are one in patriotism, one in their determination to free Spain from the grip of political stranglers and put the glorious old nation on its feet.

Much has been written of the Military Directorate and its President, but little of Primo de Rivera's personality. It was summer when I reached Madrid. On the evening of my arrival, I sat in the lounge of an hotel on the Gran Via watching the people about me. They were sipping their before-dinner drinks. Ten o'clock is the popular Madrid dinner hour. They were, for the most part, Spaniards from neighboring provinces. Near by sat a family group—father, mother, grown sons and daughters—Andalusians from their accent.

"He works late," I heard the elder man say, "but he will come soon."

Through the wide-open door came a big, broad-shouldered man with a brisk, swinging gait. He wore a dark sack-suit and carried a soft hat in his hand. He walked straight up to the Andalusians, a smile on his fine, frank face. Stooping he kissed the mother's hand.

I recognized him instantly from his photograph. He was General Miguel Primo de Rivera, Marquis de Estella, Spain's Dictator, the man I had come to Madrid to meet.

I count myself fortunate that before meeting him I had this opportunity of observing the man at close range when, in an hour of relaxation, he chatted with old friends. They came, no doubt, from Jerez de la Frontera, that smiling, sun-drenched town in the far south of Spain where Primo de Rivera was born.

The group sat at dinner at a table adjoining mine. There was much laughter. This hardest worked man in Spain can be the merriest. If I had not known who he was, had never seen him again, I should have remembered his fine eyes, his hearty laugh. His personality grips from the start.

He is rather the American type. Still in the early fifties his hair is brown, eyes hazel, skin fair and rather florid, features pronounced. He is clean-cut,—big, virile, alert, direct.

I met him a few mornings later in the pink palace on the Paseo de la Castellana which has been the official home of many a Prime Minister. The American Ambassador, a close friend of the General's, was there to introduce me, and the First

Secretary of the Embassy, who spoke the best Castilian of the trio.

We were escorted into a room hung in gold and pink brocade, on the upper floor of the palace. A life-size portrait of the King of Spain was in a panel on the wall. We were barely seated when the President (as Primo de Rivera is called) walked in. He wore civilian garb. He dons military uniform at the War Office.

He greeted the Ambassador with the greatest cordiality, shook hands with the First Secretary, bowed over my hand.

"You speak Spanish?" he asked, with little hope that I did.

"Ungrammatically and enthusiastically," I answered.

He seemed pleased.

We chatted first of Jerez and his boyhood friends. I had visited the house where he was born, the church where he was baptized. We found a common interest in our love for this beautiful, conservative old town, with its ancient vineyards and vast wine *bodegas*; and its stock farms where the finest Arab horses in Spain are bred.

And to think of my being in Jerez for the May Fair when "all the world," as the Spaniards say, passed below my balcony at the little Hotel-of-the-Swans!

We talked of the United States and of my countrymen whom the General called "the great North American people."

"The United States," he said, "for the past twenty-five years, has maintained such a noble attitude towards Spain that it has made us forget we were adversaries in a war in which both peoples died gloriously for patriotism. We Spaniards especially appreciate the participation of the American Ambassador in the homage in Cartagena to the Spanish sailors who died in Cavite and Santiago, and the visit of the Admiral of the American squadron to the widow of our great sailor, Admiral Cervera. Past rancor has been converted into the earnest desire that Spain and the United States may forever live in peace to develop our reciprocal interests."

"I hope that Americans in greater number may visit Spain," I told him. "To me it is the most interesting country in Europe."

"It was once the greatest country in the world," he said, "We hope still to make it one of the greatest countries in Europe. . . . I wish that the American Government, or some American association, would send a

mission to Spain. It would be assured of every aid and facility in studying our ancient art treasures and our modern progress."

"There are not many questions that I want to ask you," I told him. "I have been six months in Spain. Your work speaks for itself."

He would, he said, be pleased to answer any questions I cared to ask regarding Spain, or Morocco, after the next few days when he should be very much occupied planning for the visit to Madrid of Their Italian Majesties.

He came to the door of the outer room with us, shook hands heartily with the Ambassador and the First Secretary and kissed my hand. It is this blend of Old World Castilian courtesy and that force and directness we claim as Anglo-Saxon that makes Primo de Rivera unusual.

"You are a very brave man," a friend of mine once said to him. "Why, you might have been shot any moment during those first days of last autumn!"

"I love my country," the General answered. "You would do as much for yours. I saw Spain sinking. Were you to see your mother drowning you would try to save her. You wouldn't count the cost."

The way he walks the streets alone at night without a guard amazes everyone.

"Secret Service men form a frame for a target," he says, with that merry care-free laugh.

On the morning of the great procession, with its tens of thousands of colorful troops and noble horses, when the King and Queen of Spain escorted the King and Queen of Italy from the railroad station to the Royal Palace, I had a glimpse of the President. Throughout the five days' festivities he tried to efface himself.

"Primo doesn't want to be in any of the photographs with the sovereigns," the Spanish journalists told me. "He says this is a royal party."

But as he rode in an open carriage in the procession behind the sovereigns the crowd acclaimed him. "The President! Long live the President!" I heard them cry.



SPANISH SOLDIERS AT THE FRONT IN MOROCCO

The man who was distrusted and feared a year ago is to-day respected—loved, save by the discredited politicians of the old régime.

After the home-circle view that first night at the hotel, and the chat at the Palace on the Castellana, I next met Primo de Rivera in a most brilliant setting at the ball given by the Duke of Alba, cousin of the King of Spain, to the King and Queen of Italy—the same Duke of Alba who recently toured America.

Primo de Rivera entered the ballroom some time after the royal guests. He came in alone, dressed like the King of Spain, in evening clothes, with a broad green ribbon across his breast, his new Italian decoration. There was a stir as he entered.

Later we talked again in Spanish. He speaks French, but only a few words of English.

"When I write of you, I think I will have to call you 'El Conquistador,'" I said to him. "You are a son of Cádiz province from which most of the *conquistadores* sailed, and you have taken possession of Spain."

He laughed and shook his head.

"I am only a Spaniard who loves his country, who believes in his country."

I talked that evening with a number of men connected with the present government. A tall general in a red uniform, fairly ablaze with decorations, said the President worked too hard and rested too little, that he usually worked far into the night.

"What's the use of moving the government up to San Sebastian during the hot

"weather?" said another officer. "He'll never give us a chance even to have a swim."

In later conversations with Primo de Rivera, he outlined to me improvements he hoped to bring about which have since been carried out. He spoke of his determination to continue the Military Directorate until such a time when the power of the politicians should wane and the people be better able to help themselves. He outlined the new policy in Morocco which has since been followed.

About turning over his office to another: "It's easy enough to mount a horse when it isn't going very fast," says the General, "but next to impossible to jump off when the horse is at full gallop."

Only through military rule, with his legion of soldiers on guard, has he held out against the wealth and cunning lined up against him.

There have been, I believe, about one hundred governments in Spain in the past one hundred years—eighty Prime Ministers in a century! Already the Military Directorate has lived as long as the average Spanish government.

#### *The Dictator's Task in Morocco*

Primo de Rivera's greatest problem lies in North Africa. I crossed Spanish Morocco to glimpse that problem. I saw soldiers and munitions disembarking at Melilla from Málaga and at Ceuta from Algeciras. These are the two fortified towns on the Mediterranean coast of the Spanish Protectorate. I visited Tetuán, the administrative base in the Spanish Zone, reached by rail from Ceuta. I visited Larache and Arzila on the Atlantic coast south of Tangier; and went inland to El Ksar-el-Kebir on the Spanish-French frontier and to other villages within the Spanish lines. Everywhere I saw soldiers engaged in building roads and strengthening forts for that pulling in of the jagged projecting edges of the Spanish front which has since been accomplished.

Primo de Rivera is following out those methods employed with such brilliant success in French Morocco where roads rather than regiments have won the

victory. It is these highroads of French Morocco, marching abreast with forts and hospitals, that have conquered the wild heart of the French Protectorate, uniting its more civilized regions with those remote fertile fields wherein the wealth of the country lies. Over these wonderful roads, guarded by forts at regular intervals, march the soldiers of France's Great Saharan Empire,—French Colonials, Foreign Legion men of many nationalities, Senegalese, Soudanese, Arab, Berber. Even the fierce tribes of the High Atlas, of the Draa and the Sous, are now tamed.

The Riff tribesmen who have not come under the rule of the Spanish Protectorate are Berbers. Their nearly impregnable mountain fastness is now completely surrounded by a conquered and peaceful zone, either French or Spanish. There is no longer any way of their receiving munitions, or communicating with other Berber tribes in the French Zone. Abd-el-Krim, the Riff chieftain, is singing his swan song. He will die hard and it may be some seasons before this comparatively small Riff hill territory can be brought into the fold.

The old method of aimless attack, which has cost Spain countless lives and treasure, has been abandoned. The new method of a solid line of defense around the pacified zone and a gradual encroachment along the whole of the Spanish front spells ultimate victory.

Not that I personally lack sympathy with the Berbers. North Africa was their land even in those shadowy days before the first Phoenician craft sailed toward the Pillars of Hercules. But like the primitive American peoples, their race is run.

Even at the time of my visit to the "Marruecos," as the Spaniards call their portion of Morocco, the condition of the Spanish and loyal Moorish soldiers was vastly improved. They are well clothed and shod, have a fuller ration. If an officer ill-treats a private, he is demoted. I well remember the old days when every private ordered to Morocco felt he was going to starvation and slow death, if he was not to die at the front.

"El General," they call Primo de Rivera. "You may be sure we'll fight for him."

# PAN-AMERICAN ARMAMENTS AND REVOLUTIONS

BY CAPTAIN DANIEL S. APPLETON, U. S. A.

THE growing popularity of revolutions involving physical uprisings and force of arms among Pan-American nations is at least an interesting study in human psychology, if not a serious menace to the peaceful reputation of the Western Hemisphere.

Most of the Central and South American revolutions of recent years have been so brief and have occurred at such long intervals that they have passed more or less unnoticed by the world at large, even by the United States. And unless the complete toll of lives and property which these local political differences have taken over a period of years is considered in a lump sum, it is probable that future revolutions will continue to pass unnoticed, except by a few American and foreign commercial interests with holdings in the country involved.

The ease with which an ambitious anti-government faction manages to organize an armed protest against existing and recognized government, and in some instances—such as the recent São Paulo uprising in Brazil—to conduct a well-organized military campaign of long duration, leads us to wonder at the very considerable facilities in that war-worn combination of men, money, and material that must be at the instant disposal of come-who-may to overturn the government.

The great nations of the world, the United States in particular, in their haste to abolish international disputes through limitation of armaments, seem to have overlooked the question of abolishing domestic disputes in Pan-America by the same means. Revolution is a synonym for civil war, and history certainly cites examples of civil wars that have caused just as much loss of life, property and the right to pursue happiness as many international conflicts. They should not, therefore, be overlooked as a cause for delaying the era of peace.

## *Large Military Expenditures*

Excluding the United States and Canada from consideration, we find that no less than eleven Pan-American states maintain peace-time armies by *conscription* aggregating 210,000 men, and that these eleven countries have expended annually since 1921 an average of \$99,051,289 on armaments, which represents also an average of 18.9 per cent. of the total annual national budgets. The actual appropriations for maintenance of armed forces under compulsory service laws in 1921, for example, ranged from \$34,256,902 by Argentina to \$223,248 by Nicaragua, and the ratio to the national budget from 32.2 per cent. by Chile to 7.9 per cent. by Nicaragua. The eleven countries with conscription systems are: Argentine, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Columbia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, and Venezuela.

Six other independent Pan-American states, maintaining armed forces by *voluntary service*, have appropriated over the last four years an aggregate average of \$99,748,141 per annum for military purposes, representing 26.9 per cent. of the national budgets. These are: Costa Rica, Cuba, Honduras, Mexico, Uruguay, and Guatemala.

Three countries, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Panama, maintain no national forces except those classed as government police, and are therefore not included in any of the above figures.

At first glance, a comparison of the military expenditures of the two general classifications outlined above appears to indicate that the non-military countries of America are spending an exorbitant amount of money on armaments. This apparent discrepancy, however, is due to the inclusion of the Republic of Mexico, in the list of states maintaining on voluntary

forces. Mexico alone accounts for \$78,254,965 of the total of \$99,748,141. It would perhaps afford a better comparison were Mexico included in the category of conscription states, since service was compulsory in that country prior to the late revolution, and although the present army numbers only 50,000 men, military training is still compulsory in all schools.

#### *The Brazilian Revolution*

Among the current Pan-American revolutions, that in Brazil stands out as the most important. To begin with, it centered around an agricultural and industrial area that holds anything but an insignificant position on the business map of South America. More than that, however, it involved a quite extensive and well-organized military campaign the outcome of which is extremely creditable to the Brazilian Government and also to the Brazilian people, who showed a disposition even to forego their personal ambitions to support properly constituted government. The Brazilian revolt was conducted in and by the state of São Paulo; an examination of the military status of Brazil explains just exactly how and why São Paulo was enabled to organize a temporarily successful campaign against the Federal government.

Military service in Brazil is compulsory for all male citizens between the ages of 21 and 44 years, and in order to insure training to the maximum number of citizens no man is permitted to remain with the colors more than two years in time of peace. At the outbreak of the recent revolution the army numbered 100,000 men, of which 75,000 were federal troops and 34,000 state troops; of the latter, 9,000 pertained to the state of São Paulo. These troops, authorized by the federal government and maintained by the state, constituted the nucleus of the revolutionary army. Loyalty to São Paulo prompted the men to follow a leader from their own territory even against the central government, and as a well-armed, equipped, and trained unit they enabled the revolutionary leaders to withstand a long and hard siege by the Brazilian federal army.

In other words, the system of allotting part of her army to the territorial and administrative control of the states has proved an invitation to the most powerful of those states to use that force against constituted authority. No doubt São Paulo felt grateful to the Brazilian Government

for providing it with the wherewithal for conducting a dignified revolution.

#### *Why Revolution Flourishes in Honduras*

The case of Honduras is equally interesting; more so, perhaps, since the United States has been more actively represented in revolutionary Honduras than in the average Central American fracas. That is, the presence on shore of a few score of American sailors did actually result in bringing the opposing factions to terms, even if the terms were intended to continue effective only so long as an armed force of Americans remained on the scene.

The military status of Honduras presents one of the most interesting aspects of national defense to be found in the world. All male citizens between the ages of 21 and 35 years automatically constitute the so-called active army, while those between 35 and 40 years make up the reserve. Neither of these forces is permanently maintained in time of peace, but in case of emergency it is estimated that the younger element would provide about 46,000 men, the older or reserve class about 21,000. In spite of the fact, previously stated, that Honduras maintains no army whatever, that country expended in 1921, an average year, *no less than \$1,811,262 for armaments out of a total national budget of \$4,072,716*. This means that 44.5 per cent. of all the funds required to run the Honduran Government in 1921 were theoretically devoted to the upkeep of a fictitious military system! So Honduras has every facility for conducting a revolution and no organized body to guarantee the use of these facilities in the interests of the Government.

#### *The Treaty of 1923*

One naturally wonders why, with so much domestic strife in Pan-America, wars do not develop between the countries so well provided with the means. The reason is that on May 3, 1923, there was held at Santiago an International Conference of American States, the principal purpose of which was to promote and maintain peace on the American continent. That conference drew up a treaty which was agreed to and signed by sixteen Pan-American states, including the United States. Peru, Bolivia and Mexico have not agreed to the treaty's provisions, though it is hoped that they may yet do so. The effect of the treaty is to provide a commission to which

all controversies arising from any cause whatsoever between the contracting parties shall be submitted for investigation and report. Pending the commission's report no mobilization or other active military step is permitted by any party concerned.

There is no question that this treaty has done and will continue to do much toward the promotion of peace on the American continent and will exercise due influence on that of the world at large. But its provisions apply, of course, only to international disputes, and have no bearing whatever on domestic differences, which continue to provide an outlet for the ambitious revolutionary spirit who may wish to avail himself of the ready-made armies.

In the United States the ratio of soldiers to total population is 1 : 880, the smallest ratio on the entire American continent with the exception of the Dominican Republic,

Haiti, and Panama, which maintain no forces whatever and at least two of which have consequently had to depend on the United States for the maintenance of their internal equilibrium. Taking all the remaining Pan-American states together, we find that the ratio of soldiers to population is no less than 1 : 378, more than twice that of the United States! Yet by virtue of the treaty of May 3, 1923, these states have practically no need for an armed force in peace time. However, Pan-America is well armed, so why not have a home-grown war once in a while?

The sum and substance of the matter seems to be that as long as these states maintain comparatively large armed forces, ostensibly for the purpose of keeping order at home, there will be plenty of disorder. Pan-American armies are decidedly ambidextrous!

## The Late Captain Appleton

CAPTAIN DANIEL S. APPLETON, of the United States Army, who contributed the remarkably well-informed article that immediately precedes this biographical notice, died at the Walter Reed Hospital in Washington early in November as the wholly unexpected result of a brief illness. He was only thirty years of age, but was already well launched upon a career of rare promise. As one of his military assignments, he had recently completed three years at our army post in Porto Rico. The present article shows how carefully he had followed the course of Latin-American affairs. He belonged to the well-known family of New York publishers, being a great-grandson of the founder of the house of D. Appleton & Company. His interest in military history and his knowledge of languages were associated with literary talent and worthy ambition. He had almost completed a valuable and much desired history of "Marine Transportation of Armies," a book that he was writing with the official encouragement of his army superiors and of the War Department. Mrs. Appleton, who had been keenly interested in his studies and his plans of work, will occupy herself with giving the final touches and rounding out the unfinished chapters.

Captain Appleton's comments in the arti-



CAPT. DANIEL S. APPLETON, 1893-1924

cle that we publish herewith, upon the relation of military expenditure in South America to internal strife, afford a point of view that has been too little considered.—A. S.



DEMONSTRATING CHLORINE-GAS TREATMENT IN A COMMITTEE ROOM OF CONGRESS  
(Lieut.-Col. H. L. Gilchrist is at the right)

## CHLORINE GAS FOR COLDS

BY OLIVER PECK NEWMAN

TWO United States Senators meet in a corridor of the Capitol at Washington. Senator A tries to halt Senator B to ask him about a bill in which both are interested.

Senator B: "I can't stop now; must hurry to my chlorine treatment."

Senator A: "In that case, I won't detain you. I had my third yesterday and my cold is gone. It's a great thing."

Senator B: "I'm taking my second but I'm almost well. It surely is a tremendous relief."

Such exchanges may now be heard almost daily in either the Senate or House wing of the Capitol, for Congress, despite the reputation it may have in some quarters for being slow to act, has avidly seized upon the chlorine treatment for colds and has installed a gas chamber at each end of its official home. There scores of members take the inhalation whenever they feel a cold "coming on."

### *President's Friend Relieved*

At the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, in the White House, President Coolidge recently sat chatting with his friend, the Rev. Dr. William F. Anderson, Methodist Episcopal Bishop, of Cincinnati. The Bishop was suffering from a severe cold.

"You must go down and take a chlorine treatment," said Mr. Coolidge. "I recently cured a bad cold in that manner and I know it will relieve you."

The President took his own inhalation in the Army's gas chamber but he sent

Bishop Anderson to the Navy, perhaps desiring to divide the White House patronage impartially between the two services. The Bishop took an hour's treatment in the morning and the same in the afternoon, being the first patient to receive two treatments on the same day. After his arrival at home he wrote back and thanked the President, reporting that his cold was gone.

Thus, at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, official Washington has gone in for chlorine gas.

The Army doctors have been experimenting with it for two years, and since February, 1924, a gas chamber has been in constant operation. There more than two thousand persons have been treated. The Navy Dispensary, where Admiral Cary Grayson is in command, has operated a chamber since April, 1924, and has treated more than twelve hundred cases. The Army research is under the medical division of the Chemical Warfare Service, and is directly in charge of Lieut.-Col. Harry L. Gilchrist, M.D., Army Medical Corps. Before these two chambers were established an important series of experiments were conducted under the auspices of the Chemical Warfare Service at the Edgewood Arsenal, near Baltimore, where 931 patients were treated with chlorine gas by Lieut.-Col. Edward B. Vedder of the Army Medical Corps.

This makes a total of approximately 4,000 persons who have been given chlorine gas under direction and observation of men of science in the government service. It is

believed the number of cases is sufficiently large to justify certain general conclusions.

Stripped of scientific terms and the precautions habitual with men engaged in scientific research, the results of the experiments indicate that a cure for common colds and whooping cough has probably been found.

#### *High Cost of Colds*

If this be true, the effects are so far-reaching as to exceed human ability to visualize. A few concrete illustrations give a mere glimpse of a world without a cold in its head, a sore throat or a cough. For instance, the Public Health Service has just announced that a survey recently concluded shows that 90 per cent. of the people of the United States have a cold once a year. If each cold means a cost of only one dollar (in loss of time, drug bills, doctors' bills, lowered efficiency and lessened producing ability) chlorine gas would save us one hundred million dollars annually—and a dollar apiece is probably a low estimate of the money cost of America's common colds.

Here is the official record of one large insurance company of New York, which is noted for the extent and accuracy of its statistics: In a group of 6,700 clerical employees colds occurred at the rate of 420.7 per thousand in one year, with a loss of 6,233 working days.

Increased efficiency and productivity due to absence of colds cannot be estimated. Neither is there any way to measure what the increase in human happiness would be if we never had colds, or, having them, could get rid of them quickly by a simple, inexpensive method. The joy of living would be multiplied to infinity. Still another immeasurable effect would be the cutting-off of innumerable diseases which follow in the wake of colds.

#### *Early Experiments with Chlorine Gas*

The story of chlorine gas as a curative agency reads like a romance. It is not, as popularly supposed, a new remedy. To be exact, it is just 100 years old. In 1824 Dr. William Wallace of Dublin, a famous medical scientist of his day, administered it. He wrote a treatise on the subject and predicted far-reaching results from its use.

Dr. Wallace probably never dreamed of the use of chlorine gas as a weapon of

offense in war, yet it required the frightful world conflict to bring his remedy again to the aid of humanity. And to-day its use as originally advocated by the noted Irishman a century ago represents a transition from kill to cure. Out of the anger of war, which produced in chlorine gas one of the most awful weapons of destruction ever conceived, we now seem likely to evolve one of the greatest blessings ever known to man.

#### *What Was Learned in the Great War*

The present research goes back only to 1918, when the Germans were drenching the front line trenches of the Allies with gas and an influenza epidemic was raging throughout France. It was observed by the medical officers that while the rear areas suffered frightfully from influenza, the troops at the front were practically free from it. The medical officer of one American division, noting this condition, instituted chlorine gas treatment for respiratory troubles among his men, with the result that colds and "flu" were materially reduced.

In northern France the prevailing winds were from east to west, which aided the Germans in their gas attacks, but just before the second Marne offensive a serious influenza epidemic swept through the German troops while there was none in the gassed areas of the Allies only a few hundred yards away.

At about the same time in this country it was observed that employees in plants turning out war gases containing chlorine were immune to the ravages of influenza, which took such terrible toll of the military camps.

#### *Colds Cured During the Past Two Years*

In order to get reliable information upon which conclusions could be based, the experiments at Edgewood Arsenal were undertaken. Three hundred and eighty-eight cases of colds were treated, and 288 were cured. In other words, the cures ran nearly 75 per cent. Ninety-one cases, or 23.5 per cent., showed improvement. Nine cases, or 2.3 per cent., showed no improvement.

The other cases—including influenza, whooping cough, bronchitis, etc.—brought the total number of persons treated up to 931, of whom 665, or 71.4 per cent., were cured. Of those not cured, 218, or 23.4 per

cent., showed improvement. But 48, or only 5.1 per cent., showed no improvement. The complete table showing Colonel Ved-

der's results—the first tabulation ever made of the use of chlorine gas as a curative property—is as follows:

Diseases	No. of Cases	Cured		Improved		No Change	
		No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
Acute bronchitis	241	192	80.	47	19.5	2	.5
Acute laryngitis and pharyngitis	127	99	78.	24	19.	4	3.1
Coryza (colds)	388	288	74.2	91	23.5	9	2.3
Chronic bronchitis	47	34	72.3	12	25.5	1	2.1
Chronic laryngitis	2	2	100.	..	..	..	..
Chronic rhinitis	106	33	31.1	41	38.6	32	30.2
Whooping cough	9	8	88.8	1	11.1	..	..
Influenza	11	9	81.8	2	18.1	..	..
Totals	931	665	71.4	218	23.4	48	5.1

Colonel Gilchrist made an analysis of 795 cases treated at the Army chamber in Washington. Since that was done he has treated more than 2000 additional people and while accurate tabulation of

their cases has not yet been made, he says his daily observations convince him that the results will run substantially the same. His tabulation of 795 cases treated is as follows:

Diseases	No. of Cases	Cured		Improved		No Change	
		No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
Asthma	23	2	9.	8	34.	13	57.
Acute bronchitis	106	54	52.	45	42.	7	6.
Chronic bronchitis	47	21	47.	17	34.	9	19.
Catarrh.	43	1	2.	31	71.	11	27.
Coryza (colds)	423	234	55.	170	40.	19	5.
Chronic colds	41	20	49.	14	34.	7	17.
Hay fever	15	..	..	2	15.	13	87.
Laryngitis	12	3	25.	8	66.	1	9.
Pharyngitis	9	1	11.	7	78.	1	11.
Chronic rhinitis	21	3	13.	8	39.	10	48.
Sinus invol't.	15	..	..	10	66.	5	34.
Whooping cough	40	19	47.	19	47.	2	6.
Totals	795	358	45.	339	42.	98	12.

It will be noted that at both Edgewood and Washington a high percentage of cures was obtained in the case of colds. Colonel Vedder not only had cures in practically 75 per cent. of such cases, but also in 80 per cent. of the cases of acute bronchitis and in 78 per cent. of the cases of acute laryngitis and pharyngitis, which to the layman would also be classed as colds. Colonel Gilchrist's lesser percentages of cures in Washington are probably due to the fact that his patients, being drawn from the general public, are not under his complete control and in many cases quit the treatments when materially improved but just before they could be classified as cured.

No tabulation of results obtained in the 1200 cases at the Navy Dispensary has yet been made, but a few general conclusions have been drawn by the officials there as a result of their observation. As to colds,

including laryngitis and pharyngitis, the results are substantially the same as those obtained by the Army doctors at Edgewood and in Washington.

#### *Success in Treating Whooping Cough*

Anybody who was ever in the house with (or next door to) a child with whooping cough will be interested in what the experiments show in the treatment of this disease—one of the most distressing that attacks the child, and one of exceeding seriousness in the case of adults, who often contract it. All medical officers who have administered chlorine gas in whooping-cough cases agree that it is almost a sure cure.

Every woman at the head of a household containing children dreads that "whoop" which is the signal for nine weeks of misery for everybody in the family, and which

makes a Pariah of her and her child in the eyes of every other mother in her neighborhood. Under chlorine-gas treatment, that awful nine weeks is cut to from one to three. If the treatments are started in the early stages, the cure is quick; but even when well-advanced the disease will eventually yield to continued inhalations.

#### *Chlorine Cannot Reach Deep-Seated Ailments*

Thus far the greatest benefits from chlorine gas are in cases of colds, whooping-cough, influenza, and other acute ailments of the upper respiratory tract. It does not seem to be of much help in cases of asthma, tuberculosis, pneumonia, hay fever, sinus involvement, and deep-seated bronchial troubles. This is explained by the theory that the gas kills only those germs that it can reach on the surfaces of the mucous membrane lining the respiratory organs. It will not cure tuberculosis of the lungs because it cannot get into the lungs in sufficient strength to put the tubercle bacilli out of business. If the gas were strong enough to do that it would kill the patient. The same is true as to pneumonia. But any germ that is working around on the surfaces, in the nose, throat, or bronchial tubes, where a mild concentration of gas can reach him, is a "goner." That's the reason the gas cures an ordinary cold.

#### *Not an Unpleasant Remedy*

The treatment is not disagreeable. At the Army and Navy chambers from six to ten patients are admitted simultaneously. They bring books, newspapers, or magazines with them, and read during the inhalation. Each "class" sits in the chamber for one hour. Sometimes they converse among themselves, depending on their dispositions. The chambers are well-lighted and ventilated, with windows looking out on the streets. The chlorine gas is discharged in sufficient quantity and strength to provide the vapor desired. It is regulated according to the number of patients.

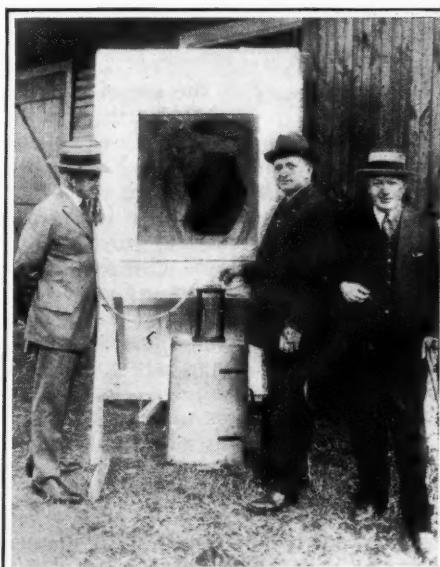
The patient is conscious that there is something in the atmosphere only because of a very slight smarting of the eyes and the barest possible irritation in the nose and throat. Neither is sufficiently strong to be offensive. No matter what sort of cold the patient has, he seldom coughs while inhaling the gas. After the treatment it is possible that there may be noticeable secretion from the nose and throat, because the

gas "loosens up" the cold. The number of treatments varies according to the ailment. A cold treated at the very beginning might require but one inhalation, but it is more likely to require two. A well-advanced cold may require four or five treatments.

#### *Moderate Cost of Treatments*

One of the best things about the chlorine gas remedy is the slight cost at which it can be administered. The apparatus for charging a gas chamber can be purchased for less than \$100, and the chlorine costs only a few cents a day. One church in Washington has installed a chamber for its members and their families. At certain hours doctors who are members of the congregation operate the apparatus. Patients are charged \$1 each per treatment, and of this sum fifty cents goes to the doctor and fifty cents to the church. Gas chambers could easily be established in public schools and operated by school nurses. Owners of office buildings could put in gas chambers for their tenants; department stores, could install them for their employees. Health departments of municipalities could operate them for the general public, with a reasonable charge to make them self-supporting.

It is not necessary to take the treatment in a chamber with others. It is possible to buy, for a few dollars, a little



BOX USED FOR ADMINISTERING CHLORINE GAS TO HORSES SUFFERING FROM COLDS



WHOOPING-COUGH PATIENTS TAKING CHLORINE GAS TREATMENT

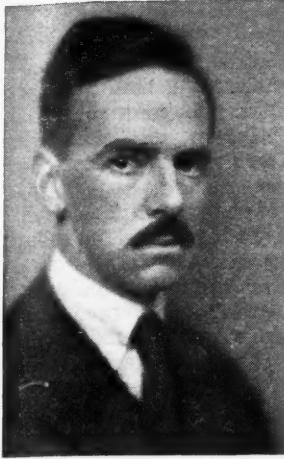
apparatus for the administration of chlorine gas to one individual or to two or three whose work may keep them close together. It may soon, therefore, be a common thing to walk into a man's office and find him dictating letters or studying memoranda and taking his chlorine treatment at the same time.

#### *Clinics in New York and Elsewhere*

A different story of the use of chlorine gas is told by Dr. Louis I. Harris, director of the bureau of preventable diseases of the Health Department of New York City. In a report just made, Dr. Harris states that his bureau conducted two chlorine gas clinics during last June and July; that of 506 patients treated for diseases of the respiratory tracts only 6.5 per cent. were cured, and that the clinics had been closed. Referring to the results announced by Colonel Vedder as having been obtained at the Edgewood Arsenal, Dr. Harris says: "We deem their claims to be unjustified."

This report brought a prompt statement from Colonel Vedder, defending his statistics and charging that the reason the treatment failed in New York City was that it had been improperly administered. He pointed out that unless the gas is taken a sufficient number of times, in exactly the correct concentration, the treatment is useless.

In the meantime experiments are being conducted in numerous other places, with results substantially the same as those obtained by the Government experts in Washington. Gas chambers are being installed rapidly and reports of their operation received at the Army chlorine offices show that colds are being successfully treated in thousands of cases. A large commercial clinic has been operated successfully in Chicago over a considerable period. The General Electric Company at Schenectady is the latest big industrial concern to adopt chlorine treatment for its employes. Others that have done the same, after investigation, are the Carnegie Steel Company, the National Tube Company, and the Westinghouse Company, of Pittsburgh, Pa.; the Henry Ford Hospital at Detroit; the Endicott Johnson Corporation, shoe manufacturers, at Johnson City, N. Y.; the Fidelity and Casualty Insurance Company of New York City, the Hooker Electrochemical Company of Niagara Falls, the Passavant Hospital at Pittsburgh, and the Cleveland Clinic (also a hospital). Individual physicians all over the country are installing gas chambers and reporting satisfactory results. The Government scientists, therefore, say they are not discouraged over Dr. Harris' experience.



EUGENE O'NEILL

(Without the production of two or three O'Neill plays, a theatrical season in New York would not be complete)



STUART WALKER

(Who has won deserved success with portmanteau theaters and repertory companies in Indianapolis, Cincinnati, and elsewhere)



DAVID BELASCO

(Wearing the medal of the Legion of Honor, recently conferred upon him in New York by the French Government)

## THE SEASON'S PLAYS

BY MONTROSE J. MOSES

THE fight which, for so many years, we have waged for the betterment of our theater, is beginning to reap its benefits—benefits which carry with them a certain danger, since the theatrical mind in America seems still to be groping, while the theatrical body is becoming more perfect.

It is to be noted with some satisfaction that the consciousness of a need for good drama is spreading over a wider territory each season: that the demand for good plays is becoming more and more insistent. And what is even of greater significance is the growth of the feeling—in all sections of our country—that we are rich in dramatic materials waiting for the dramatist to realize, to make use of them.

In Europe they are recognizing the healthy spirit which pervades the American theater. Reinhardt spoke, in no uncertain terms, of the broad value of the scenic work done by Norman-Bel Geddes, when the two worked together on "The Miracle." Stanislavsky expressed a desire—had it not been imperative for him to return to Russia—to remain in America and participate in that dramatic renaissance, evidences of which were everywhere around him. And now, M. Gémier, of the Odéon in France, has words of praise for our endeavor.

All this is good to see and hear. And we are aware of the good will of Europe, when France decorates our actor, James K. Hackett, and our manager, David Belasco; when Germany gives Eugene O'Neill his due recognition; and when authors in England point to the Theater Guild as an example for the British theater to emulate.

This is all very flattering; but of still more weight, it would seem, is the confidence created at home by the willingness on the part of two thousand bond-holders to give the Theater Guild in New York its new playhouse, now in process of construction; by the desire on the part of Otto H. Kahn to contribute to the maintenance of the Provincetown Players, who now control their tiny stable theater on Macdougal Street as well as the Greenwich Village Theater. In another direction the signs of public interest in the theater are made apparent by the munificent bestowal of money to Princeton and Yale Universities for the establishment of drama centers, where all phases of the art of the theater may be studied toward the professional theater's enrichment.

These are signs of the time, not alone confined to the East, but typical of what is occurring here and there throughout the

country. The work that is being done at the University of North Carolina to awaken in student dramatists a belief in the drama material of their own locality, points to a recognition by the State that the theater is an institution deserving of the commonwealth's support. When Governor Smith, of New York, laid the corner-stone of the Theater Guild's new home, he said that he did so, not in consummation of a personal desire, but as recognition by the Empire State of the theater's public worth. The times have indeed changed when public men thus come forward as the champions of dramatic art, and when hard-headed business men, like E. S. Harkness, contribute millions for its fostering.

Thus taking inventory, I can not pass by unnoticed the quiet but effective policy of such a worker in the theater as Stuart Walker, who for many seasons past has brought to communities like Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Dayton and Louisville, plays which they might not otherwise have seen, so disorganized has the commercial theater left the country at large. The conventional theater manager has deserted the road, left it in the hands of Little Theaters and moving-picture houses; he has concentrated his real-estate interests in New York City. That Mr. Walker has been able to demonstrate how effectively a company may win its way in towns which no longer interest

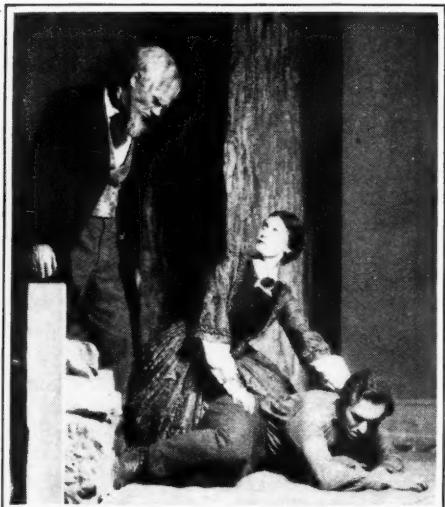
the potentates of Broadway, is to his credit. And one can read into his statistics of accomplishment a far-reaching lesson. During six seasons in Indianapolis, he has given 825 performances, no season being longer than four months.

At the close of the season in Louisville, 1923, he had given his clientele ten plays, seven of which were new to them. In Cincinnati, at the close of his 1922 season, he had given twenty-three productions, seventeen of which were new to that locality. His actors and actresses had received ample variety and opportunity: and, what is more significant, many of them had gone from his company to Broadway, where they had illustrated the benefit of a system which smacks of the repertory we hope some day will be as familiar to the whole country as the Little Theater.

Mr. Walker's example, the success of the Theater Guild, and the commendable efforts of the Provincetown Players are having their effect in awakening the ambition of other localities. There is a small group of players in New Orleans that has elected this year to give such an ambitious program as Robinson's "The White-headed Boy," Mitchell's "The New York Idea," Hazelton's "The Yellow Jacket," and nine other formidable productions, besides reviving an English classic. The president of this Little Theater writes me:

The old history and romance of New Orleans are teeming with dramatic material, hid as yet, though school and college and university all have dramatic clubs. No writer of plays has arisen of any note, worthy to compete with novelists and story-writers like Cable, Grace King, Ruth McEnery Stuart . . . and others. Someone should long ago have done a play for Otis Skinner, with "Lafitte" as hero.

One is constantly seeking to explain why we are lacking in that impulse to do the great thing for the theater, since now there is every reason to believe that the theater is coming out of the shadow of commercialism. The fact of the matter is that in all the plays we see during a season, the lack of great vision, firm conviction—in other words, the lack of a worth-while point of view—seems dominant in the American product. Outside of Eugene O'Neill, the dramas by our native writers are either trivial or clever to the point of "near brilliance." The Provincetown Players have taken O'Neill's four one-act playlets—"The Moon of the Caribbees," "The Long Voyage Home," "In the Zone," "Bound



A SCENE FROM "DESIRE UNDER THE ELMS"

(The young wife of the New England farmer—in this drama by Eugene O'Neill—protects her stepson, with whom she is in love. The time of the play is 1850, when farming made one hard)

East for Cardiff," and for the first time these have been bound together as the "S. S. Glencairn" cycle, originally so conceived though heretofore given as separate episodes. Laboring under the disadvantage of a small stage, the strength and movement obtained by this band of players in New York are only another commentary of what can be done well when the spirit is determined. Their material was worthy—O'Neill has written hot out of experience here; and one gets something of the same thing a reader draws from Masefield's "The Widow in the Bye Street."

At the Greenwich Village Theater, another O'Neill play—"Desire Under the Elms"—does not produce as clear an effect, though it may be said that in it are scenes and bits of writing as fine as anything the playwright has thus far conceived. But somehow the "desire" which gave the old New Englander a son through the sin of love, got mixed up with a hazy madness of the young couple. The entire play left the impression of undue horror, passion bordering on insanity. Bitterness without compassion, action without a reasonable basis for it—are to be guarded against.

The managers of the Provincetown venture demand our respect and court our interest. Just as we are quickened into interest by the promise of new plays by O'Neill, like "Ponce de Leon," and "The Great God Brown," so, when the Provincetown managers announce future productions of Rostand's "The Last Night of Don Juan," Congreve's "Love for Love," the morality "Everyman," and Gilbert and Sullivan's "Patience"—remembering the pleasurable impression of their "Fashion"—we argue that here we shall have a new approach of something from which repertory is made.

For we have been prone to allow our heritage to smolder in the storehouse, not really knowing how much of life is in it. Down at the Cherry Lane Theater, tucked away in the Greenwich Village of New York, another group of players have elected this year to do Congreve's "The Way of the World," and it must be to their satisfaction to know that, even if their performance falls short of the Restoration manner, they have proved to those who never before heard of Commerce Street (or of Congreve), that Congreve's wit and manner and character are for modern entertainment, however robust the talk is to those only accustomed



M. FIRMIN GÉMIER

(Who brought to America, early in the present season, a company of French players)

to the frivolously vulgar dialogue of so many of our plays. From England there is promised us by the actor, Nigel Playfair, a whole repertory of Congreve—all that "he writ," in fact.

Thanks to M. Gémier, who brought the Odéon Company to America by semi-official invitation of the Department of State in Washington, we have just been able to enjoy the manner of Molière's "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme," done with a dash of fine comedy and with a finish which was best illustrated in this piece. The bulk of Gémier's repertory was not favorably received, his essayals of Shakespeare being after the manner of the French—not according to our tradition. And, flounders though we be of a dead tradition, we do like our Shakespeare without new scenes and situations put into the plays. Gémier's *Shylock* was a vivid conception, his *Petruchio* not much to our liking. But we applaud him for his fresh approach, even though we roared when he rewrote the plays, and at moments made it difficult for us to recognize "The Merchant of Venice" or "The Taming of the Shrew." He brought with him several old-fashioned melodramas, and a Lenormand episodic play, "Man and His



MISS LEONORE ULRIC

(Appearing in Mr. Belasco's production of "The Harem")

Phantoms." It must have been that M. Gémier was misinformed as to American taste. Except a few notable instances, it seemed as though he did not bring us the best actors of the Odéon. And certainly the dressing of his plays was of a period passé. Nevertheless, the presence amongst us of an historic institution—France's second endowed theater—spurs us further into repertory action, our immediate goal, I hope.

Repeated revivals point the way to such a goal. With Walter Hampden still touring in "Cyrano de Bergerac," with Mrs. Fiske, Mrs. Malaprop-ing on the road, with Ethel Barrymore drawing large houses to see Pinero's "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," first produced over thirty years ago, we might conclude that even the commercial theater has come into the race, and does not intend allowing the "revolutionists" to reap all the benefit of repertory. Various values are to be placed on revivals, though nothing but commendation may be given the impulse to revive. There are some devotees of Pinero, who may find in Miss Barrymore's *Paula Tanqueray* too hard and subtleless a character, recalling Mrs. Patrick Campbell.

Many years ago I was among the first to call out to Barrie's "Peter Pan," "Yes, I believe in fairies." But when Marilyn Miller, in the revival of this juvenile classic,

asked me that question, while I still believe in them, I could not believe in her, and so remained silent. Alas, her boy did grow up—and he wasn't a boy but a girl sadly conscious of her figure; and there wasn't the sunlight to her voice. There was about her too much of a blondined *Rosalind*, too little Barrie. And in all respects the performance fell short—*Mrs. Darling* wasn't motherly enough, *Nana* wasn't doggy enough, *Hook* didn't "ha-ha" as pirates should, and *Tinker Bell* was too much electric light, and not enough soul. But I still wanted to fly when *Peter* and the children flew out of the window into the Never, Never Land. And what I most wanted to do was to ask *Peter Pan* to beg Maude Adams never to grow up but to continue coming to us in this delightful bit of whimsicality with which she first familiarized us.

By such a remark, I do not wish to create the impression that I am determined to identify a rôle solely with the person who first created it. I welcomed Walter Hampden's "Cyrano de Bergerac," remembering Mansfield. I would welcome a *Rip Van Winkle*, recalling Jefferson's. But the revival must have some of the creative spirit of the original. The other evening I saw the musical comedy "The Student Prince," from the play "Alt Heidelberg." In memory there came before me the performance of Mansfield, and the revival of the play by the New Theater Company. In their production, the Shuberts were true to the spirit of the piece: they gave its romantic youthfulness, its melodiousness, its color. With the result that this operetta—with a gorgeous palace scene—brought me back the first relish of a delightful little romantic comedy. To many a music lover it recalled the fresh sparkle of "The Merry Widow," with two voices—that of Howard Marsh as *Prince Karl Franz* and Ilse Marvenga as *Kathie*—as clear and sweet as those surrounding Donald Brian in his young days.

One interesting reaction of revivals was shown recently when Stephen Phillips's "Paola and Francesca" was given at matinées with Phyllis Povah as *Francesca*. All the critics commented on their surprise at the actableness of the play. Prejudice had been created in their minds by its "poetic" quality, no doubt. To them, while reading it on the printed page, it was farthest from the stage. It is a wise reader who can tell

whether or not a piece can act. Yet it is not so difficult to feel the action of a piece in print, if one's dramatic ear is trained. And the continued reading of dramas in print aids in making the reading public—which is the potential theater public—more critical. We are yearly adding to the numbers in our trained audience.

From such a group, the Theater Guild has won confidence and obtained support. And they will have their new home in the late spring. In the meanwhile their season began delightfully with Molnar's "The Guardsman," in which Lynn Fontanne and Alfred Lunt figured. In plot the piece is much similar to Belasco's production of Vajda's "The Harem," which is a free vehicle in which Leonore Ulric shows her virtuosity. Both plays deal with jealousy and use seduction in order to test constancy. In the one, the husband, disguised, tries to lead his wife astray; in the other, the situation is reversed. It is the continental theme which we get in so many plays, so variously mixed with satire, brilliancy, and sordid commonplace. But "The Guardsman" is better entertainment than "The Harem." It has more direction, more moral slant, more reason. And it is more brilliantly acted. The Belasco play borders at times on farce, and it hasn't the purpose:

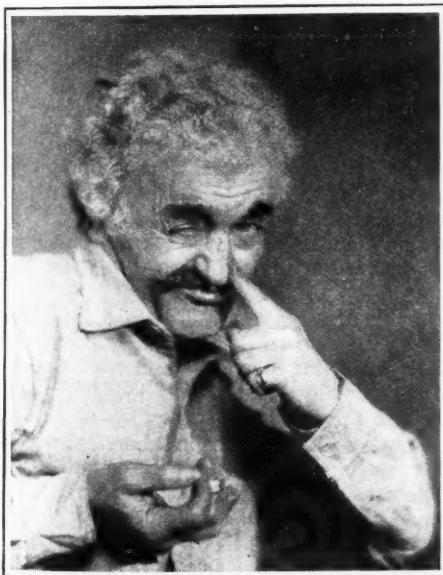


LYNN FONTANNE AND ALFRED LUNT, IN  
"THE GUARDSMAN"

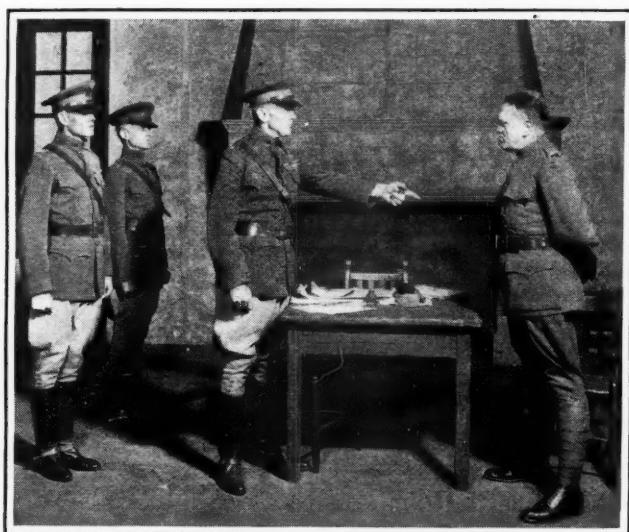
it is effervescence, effervescently handled by Miss Ulric who does many things well, and a few badly.

The Theater Guild was not so successful in its second choice—an American dramatist this time. Sidney Howard's "They Knew What They Wanted" is chiefly a vehicle for the delineation, by Richard Bennett, of an old Italian farmer who has made money in California, and of a girl who comes, by mail order so to speak, to marry him, only to find that the sly old man has sent to her a picture of his chief farm assistant. With the consequence that Tony has a child, not his—a theme similar to O'Neill's in "Desire Under the Elms"—and the play has a dénouement superbly handled by Pauline Lord, who will be remembered as helping to bring O'Neill's "Anna Christie" to triumph. A pointless bit of theatricalism is this "They Knew What They Wanted," suggesting ironically the fact that sometimes the younger generation of playwright does not know deeply what it wants, and the fact that even if the Theater Guild knew, they didn't get it.

It may be that they are looking along channels of one kind, while other managers find more worth-while fish in their direction. It may be that they declined Maxwell Anderson and Laurence Stallings, as they



RICHARD BENNETT'S CHARACTERIZATION OF  
A SLY ITALIAN FARMER OF CALIFORNIA  
(In "They Knew What They Wanted")



A SCENE FROM "WHAT PRICE GLORY?"

(The "hard-boiled" captain of marines, around whom the drama centers, stands at the right)

have sedulously avoided O'Neill up to the time they arranged with Arthur Hopkins to release to them "Ponce de Leon." Nevertheless, the Anderson-Stallings melodrama, "What Price Glory," was very well worth putting on; and the cheap publicity it got through a reported effort of the Army and Navy to suppress it, should in no way be put against it. Its language is strong, its pictures harsh and sordid. This is a war piece which is not alone a picture of the Great Conflict, but of all conflicts where man is willing to pay such price for such glory. It is not an unpatriotic play; it is a fearless picture of man's degradation in war, yet the flare of something in him which answers to something higher than himself. Without saying it, it is a pacifist document, it is a World-Court pamphlet. The public is not interested in war plays, but this war play transcends its atmosphere and pays to Arthur Hopkins, the manager, a weekly profit of over ten thousand dollars. There is something in it of timely interest: but it is supremely *drama* of the best theatrical kind.

The New York theater season thus far has been devoid of foreign brilliance. Where last year we had Stanislavsky and Duse and Reinhardt, so far we have only had Gémier and Madame Simone, the latter giving us a French repertory almost as inadequate for American interest as Réjane's repertoires in the past; add to which she revived for us

Rostand's "L'Aiglon," which she cut unmercifully and treated unfairly. Being thus thrown upon our own efforts for entertainment, it is interesting to note, outside the already discussed "Old Heidelberg," which in opera form is called "The Student Prince in Heidelberg" (wherein now they speak of the King, rather than the Emperor and Kaiser), the utilization of other plays for opera librettos, like "The Road to Yesterday" and "Good Gracious, Annabelle." There is also evident a willingness on the part of players with voices to desert comedy for music. Ruth Chatterton and Billie Burke are now singing in

musical comedies. This shows that either there is a dearth of good plays for some, or else there is a tempting field, where predominantly our taste—in New York, at least—and especially in New York when visitors are strongest—runs toward the spectacular.

There are now more than fifty theaters in the metropolis, and they are all open. Owen Davis, Elmer Rice, Edgar Selwyn, Rachel Crothers and others are trying to break into successes: some do, others fail. That is the game and the gamble. When you get the names of Winthrop Ames, O. P. Heggie, George S. Kaufman and Edna Ferber connected with a slight but amusingly episodic piece like "Minick"—with its gentle humor, the success is assured, the effect passing: it is not a contribution to the American Theater.

With the theater in such a vigorous state as I have here tried to measure, it is therefore surprising how few and far between are the really great plays; how little confidence the name of a dramatist creates in us that we are to get something to ponder over or to cherish. Out of the country-wide interest in the theater, we are hoping that a mind will develop in the healthy body. For it is *mind* that we need more than anything else in our theater: the man with something to say, and with the sensitiveness of manner to say it in a way which will be worth preserving.

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# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## The Egyptian Crisis

**I**N CONNECTION with Mr. Simonds' exposition of Great Britain's attitude in Egypt and the Sudan, it is interesting to note what some of the leading British journals have been saying since the assassination of Sir Lee Stack. Thus Mr. J. St. Loe Strachey in the *Spectator* (London) declares that a more cruel and unprovoked crime than the murder of the Governor-General it would be difficult to imagine:

He was no ruthless soldier holding down a population "rightly struggling to be free." The area in which he exercised authority, and where alone it might have been possible for him to play the tyrant, was not the place where he was shot but the Sudan. There he ruled as Governor-General, but there the native population regarded him with affection as a wise, kindly, and firm administrator. In the Sudan it is not the Englishman, but the Egyptian, who is regarded as the oppressor. Even in the Egyptian Army, of which the murdered man was Commander-in-Chief, there was no personal hatred and no cause of hatred. He had not been a heavy-handed queller of mutiny or a harsh disciplinarian, and consequently a man looked on as an enemy. His death was desired in order to remove one of the obstacles to that domination over the Sudan which the Egyptian extremists claim, while at the same time insisting that they have an indefeasible right to self-determination for themselves. The Egyptians, indeed, seem to regard our desire to defend the Sudanese from Egyptian exploitation as our worst crime.

In our opinion the British Government has acted not only promptly and boldly but also wisely. There was no attempt at reprisals, no wholesale arrests of Egyptian malcontents or of popular leaders, but just a practical assertion of the rights and duties which we retained when in 1922 we withdrew the protectorate.

The fine of half a million pounds will not be used to fill British coffers, but, after provision for the family of the dead man and of those who were injured in the outrage, will be spent in the Sudan—that is, in the area whose ruler was the victim of a premeditated murder. The fine is a way of making the governing men in Egypt and those they influence

understand the responsibility they incur by encouraging, through acquiescence, such crimes as those of the murderers and by carrying on a policy and a course of action so foolish as that to which Zaghlul treated Mr. MacDonald and the late Government.

The editor of the *Spectator* further makes it clear that England has not withdrawn from the position that she took when she acknowledged Egypt's independence in 1922 and decided to withdraw her protectorate. That action was made to depend, among other things, upon a settlement of the Sudan, a settlement insuring the safeguarding of the Suez Canal, and, finally, a settlement for carrying out the protection of foreign inhabitants which Egypt is bound to guarantee by a series of treaties with all



EGYPT AND THE SUDAN  
From *Foreign Affairs*

the powers of the civilized world, including America.

Mr. Strachey cites as proof that England does not mean to reverse her policy in the matter of self-determination in Egypt, the fact that no demand was made for the resignation of Zaghlul and his cabinet, but that the matter was left to the good sense of the King and of the men of authority in Egypt. It was they who brought into being the administration of the new Prime Minister, who commands the confidence not only of a majority of his own countrymen but of the British and European residents.

In order to secure Egypt's independence, either from conquest by the Sudanese or from European intervention, two things, in Mr. Strachey's opinion, must be made certain:

In the first place our rule must be recognized and stabilized in the Sudan. We ought, no doubt, to give, and, of course, should be perfectly willing to give guarantees, that as long as we hold the Sudan there shall be no unfair tampering with the flow of the Nile, no cutting off of the water, or of using it up, or an unfair proportion of it. Further, we should undertake that if in the future we evacuate the Sudan means shall be taken for maintaining these guarantees. Next, we, as the greatest users of the Suez Canal, and especially because the Canal is one of the chief links in that Commonwealth of English-speaking nations which we call the Empire, must be absolutely assured that the waterway is safe from armed intervention by Egypt. Finally, the drinking water of Port Said and Ismailia and the intervening country must not be cut off by the interruption of the Sweet Water Canal. There is at present no other fresh water supply to save our military forces from perishing of drought in the desert.

If the Canal can be effectively protected and proper provision made in regard to Egyptian finance, and, most important of all, if there can be a guarantee of the rights of the European colonies in Egypt—bodies which give innumerable opportunities for interference—there will be no reason why Egypt should not be as self-determined as Switzerland.

These, then, are set forth by Mr. Strachey as proper British ideals—self-determination for Egypt, British protection for the Sudan, and British guardianship of the Suez Canal. How can these things be secured, not on paper, but under permanent and stable conditions? In the Sudan it is felt that the Egyptian rights are only rights of sentiment and alleged conquest, but Mr. Strachey maintains that the right of sentiment can not prevail over the wishes of the local inhabitants, and as for conquest, the conquering was done not by the Egyptians but by the British.

Remember, however, that we reconquered the Sudan, not because we wanted it for ourselves, but because we wished to free Egypt from the peril of a barbarian invasion. As Lord Cromer was the first to admit, we no more wanted to occupy the Sudan on our own account than we wanted to occupy Abyssinia or the Libyan Desert.

In regard to the settlement of the rights of the European powers in Egypt, it seems to Mr. Strachey that the League of Nations ought to be able to afford some help. He thinks that the League might be asked to draw up a new series of capitulations and stipulations which would take the place of the body of treaties now in existence. It might also become a party to giving a complete international status to the Suez Canal and to making the British Government and the Company the mandatories under the League, added to the duty of keeping the Canal as a fairway for all nations.

Mr. Strachey heartily endorses the sentiment, expressed by the London *Times* and supported by Professor Gilbert Murray, that "British opinion can have no possible objection to a really impartial inquiry." If it is sought to have the public opinion of other nations arrayed on the side of Great Britain, both Professor Gilbert Murray and Mr. Strachey think that this would be far more likely to be brought about after an inquiry into the whole situation by the League of Nations than without such an inquiry. The fact that Egypt has no standing in court should not be made a reason for dismissing the proposal. In short, the *Spectator* agrees with the *Times* in the declaration that "the British case is thoroughly sound in law, in justice, and in the interests of Egypt and of the world."

In the current number of *Foreign Affairs* (New York) Judge Pierre Crabitès, who represents the United States on the Cairo Mixed Tribunal, writing on "Egypt, the Sudan and the Nile," holds that it is not imperialism but a question of life and death which causes independent Egypt to claim the Sudan. On the other hand, according to Judge Crabitès, it is not imperialism but a reluctance to recede from an existing partnership which impels England to refuse to abandon the Sudan. "When the Sudan ceases to be an aqueduct she will become a priceless possession; but Egypt will have been dealt a staggering blow. Courageous statesmanship should be able to solve the problem which the abolition of the British protectorate has brought to the fore."

## The Centenary of Ayacucho

DURING the past month the attention of the Western Hemisphere has been focused in an unusual way on the Peruvian city of Ayacucho, 240 miles southeast of Lima, for there has been celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the final battle which freed not only Peru but all of South America from Spanish dominion.

On December 9, 1824, 4,500 Colombian troops and 1,200 Peruvians, commanded by General Antonio José de Sucre, the loyal lieutenant of Bolívar the Liberator, won a notable victory over Spanish royalists numbering more than 9,000. According to Sir Clements R. Markham, the historian of Peru, the battle which ended the war of liberation lasted only about an hour. The royalists lost 1,400 killed and 1,700 wounded, while in the patriot army 300 were killed and 600 wounded. Before sunset the Spanish General, Canterac, sued for terms and a capitulation was signed. Nearly 4,000 Spaniards became prisoners of war. Most of the officers, in accordance with the terms of the capitulation, received their passports and returned to Spain.

Sir Clements Markham pays tribute to the gallantry displayed by the Spanish generals, who were cut off from communication with the outer world and left entirely on their own resources. He states that the celerity of their marches was marvelous, and that Generals Canterac and Valdez both displayed military talent of a high order.

Commenting on the significance of this battle in South American history, Dr. G. A. Sherwell, of the Inter-American High Commission, says in the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*:

Ayacucho in the most literal and narrow sense was merely the last battle waged by the independent forces of South America against the Spanish Army. It was the engagement which completed the independence of Peru. In a more ample sense, Ayacucho established the independence of two great national

units: Colombia and Peru. In a sense still more ample, Ayacucho ended the action of Spain as a colonizing power in America, since it not only terminated the struggles begun alike in Dolores as in Caracas, in Chile as in Argentina, but it was the precursor of the ultimate passing of Spanish dominion in its insular possessions. Sucre, indeed, welcomed the idea of fighting for Cuban independence, for his mind envisaged a future in which all the daughter nations of Spain should dwell together in liberty. But Ayacucho, in a sense even more comprehensive, holds still another significance, for it is the last chapter in the wars of independence on American soil and the definite consecration of the principle that America belongs to America's sons, and that it is the business of America's sons, and these only, to determine their destinies.

The struggle which began in Lexington can never be disassociated from those which originated in the southern nations; and neither language nor tradition has prevented their formation into a family of nations which dwells in that ample mansion, the home of the heroic Washington, of Hidalgo and Morelos, of Miranda, Bolívar, and Sucre, of San Martín, Paez, Santander, and Artigas, and all those who, with these or following the standards they had raised, championed one and the same idea, the idea that America should be freed from foreign domination, the idea which was destined in days to come to call into being heroes and martyrs until it should be deeply rooted, not in the mind of the patriots, but in the consciousness of such foreign powers as might put it in doubt.

Simon Bolívar, known to-day as the founder of five South American Republics, himself a Venezuelan, had wrested one colony after another from Spanish grasp.

To Spain was left only Peru, since in the regions to the southward, in both Argentina and Chile, liberty already reigned, the glorious figures of San Martín and O'Higgins had already taken their places among the heroes of America. There, among the inaccessible peaks and barriers of the Andes, the contest was to be decided. Spain meant not only Spain but Europe, the colonizing spirit, the system which represented the Holy Alliance, and the liberating forces commanded by Sucre, in whose ears still echoed the trumpet calls of Junín, who in rags and lean with hunger were making that pilgrimage over precipice and through narrow gorges which was to amaze the world, are seen not as the Army of Sucre, not even



GEN. SIMON BOLIVAR  
(The Liberator)



ANTONIO J. DE SUCRE  
(Grand Marshal)

as the champions of the liberty of Colombia and Peru, but as the representatives of America and of the ideas inspired by America; they were the standard bearers of the liberty and rights of man as opposed to the arrogance of those shepherds of human sheep who in Europe still dreamed of apportioning peoples to the end that no princeling might lack a heritage.

They were, moreover, the symbol of union and cooperation between the countries of America, for there, shoulder to shoulder with the seasoned veterans of Colombia, is the Peruvian legion and handful of stalwart Argentinos, all fighting under the same banners. And so the spirit of mutual service, of mutual confidence and trust which was to be the essential characteristic of the interrelations of the American peoples, was consecrated and enshrined.

To Peru, Ayacucho was independence; to Spanish-America, consecration; to America as a whole, the respecting of her sovereignty; to the world, the placing of one principle before another; and as an inevitable result of this conflict, a part of the world would thereafter choose the path it would follow.

It is not difficult to picture the final clash: On the one side the independent forces, footsore and worn, without resources and without hope of receiving any; on the way hither they had scaled mountains and plumbed unknown depths; they had come by paths which led only from one rock to another; they had skirted abysses which only the mountain goat could face with steady eye. At times the soldiers' feet had opened up new roads in the dust of the plains or groping for foothold on the face of the cliffs. In one heroic engagement they left the majority of their comrades on the field and

practically all their artillery. On the other side were the viceroy, marshals, generals, and a distinguished officialdom, with such abundant resources that they readily captured the good-will of countrysides still adhering to the ancient régime. But if on the side of the Independents material resources were lacking, Sucre marched at their head and liberty ranged in every soul. On the side of the royalists was tradition, pride, and skill in the service of oppression.

The Battle of Ayacucho took place in circumstances materially unfavorable to the Independent forces. But the principle could not perish. America must be respected by Europe, the independence of Spanish-America must be confirmed, and Peru must take its place in the concert of free peoples.

The triumph fell to the American hosts. Sucre covered himself with glory. Bolívar's glory was enhanced, impossible as this may seem. The Liberator beheld his lieutenants above the Andean heights, as it were, breaking asunder the chains of America. America beholds him as giving definite sanction to her liberty and consecrating for all time those principles on which America is founded and which, since then, in irresistible march have passed beyond the frontiers of the American nations to shake the thrones of Europe and to revolutionize the spirit of the Old World, compelling tyranny to seek refuge among those remote tribes which are an affront to civilization.

As time passes, it is seen more and more clearly that in Ayacucho perished not only European domination of America, but a world of ancient principles, ideas, and prejudices, and that the liberty of free peoples and the equality and fraternity of men found there new and invincible strength.

## Land and Public Utilities: A New Journal of Economic Research

THE opening year brings at least one addition to the fairly large group of quarterly reviews devoted to special fields of research in this country. In January, the first number of the *Journal of Land and Public Utilities Economics* makes its appearance under the editorship of Professor Richard T. Ely, of the University of Wisconsin, who also presides over the Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities.

The first article in this initial issue of the new periodical comes from the pen of Dr. Ely himself. He sets a pace for his contributors that will not be easily maintained, for his six-page article is distinguished by a clarity and terseness of statement which some of our scientific journals, already veterans in their individual fields, would do well to emulate.

Dr. Ely's topic is "Research in Land and Public Utility Economics." He points out at the outset that economic research to-day

is a social necessity, because of the increasing complexity of relationships and the enhanced difficulty of adjusting properly the mechanism of supplying goods and services for the satisfaction of human wants. Formerly, research was something incidental to the real business of life, but now it has come to be one of the chief expressions of modern life. As Dr. Ely puts it: "In proportion as blind evolution has given place to self-conscious processes, in the field of the natural as well as the social sciences, research as a means of directing change has come to the forefront."

With this modern recognition of the vital function of research in economic progress, has come a vast expansion of the agencies of research. Business firms and trade associations, labor unions, government departments, and many other groups, are turning with greater frequency to research workers for guidance.

Notwithstanding this marked tendency

in our economic life, Dr. Ely notes that the study of the economic relationships arising from the ownership and use of land and the administration of public utilities has until recently been comparatively neglected. Yet more than one-half of the estimated wealth of the United States is represented by the value of real estate and public utilities.

Dr. Ely then proceeds to outline briefly the scope and importance of land and public utility problems in order to indicate the objectives of economic research in this field. In the first place he mentions a group of problems that pertain especially to the utilization of land—building, cultivation of crops, forest growth, the extraction of mineral deposits, transportation. The great question is, how shall we proportion our resources to maintain the maximum economic results? Here and there men are trying to raise crops from land that may be better suited for forestry or grazing. Much financial loss and misery might be saved if sound economic principles were applied to all such problems. Wherever the most appropriate use is not made of each kind of land there is a failure to apply economic principles correctly. This problem can only be solved through research methods and must be a thorough investigation of the qualities of the soil, the condition of the market, the types of farming, the experience and ability of the farmer, the costs of marketing and many other pertinent factors. In short, says Dr. Ely, an economic survey (not simply a soil survey) and a rational classification of the land are prerequisite to the placing of each kind of land in its most appropriate use.

The cities, also, as well as the farming districts, have countless problems which require research. There are questions of providing adequate housing facilities, of relieving street and traffic congestion which the use of the automobile has brought, of furnishing transportation facilities.

The ownership of land brings another group of problems. Can landlord and tenant relations be improved so as to make tenancy an aid to ownership? Is the ownership of property in land properly distributed between public agencies and private individuals? Can reforestation be accomplished more efficiently under public or private ownership of forest land? Then there are the problems growing out of the valuation of land and the income from land and its taxation. From Dr. Ely's point of view each

class of land is a part of the whole, and the fundamental problem of the whole is the economic apportionment of the natural resources among the different uses.

An important feature of Dr. Ely's article is the stress that he puts upon the relationship between land and public utility economics. The utilization of our national resources, he says, is controlled and conditioned by public utilities. The value of farm, forest and mineral products largely depends upon their ability to reach markets economically. So there must be a continued functioning of transport facilities. The organization of production in our population centers, under the factory system, would not be possible without the collective supplying of water, light, sewerage, heat, power and local transport.

Taking up the modern methods of research, Dr. Ely dwells on the changes that have come with the enlarged use of statistics as a guide to applied economics. He shows that coöperative effort is supplanting individual investigation.

As Dr. Ely well says, economic research is of no avail if its results cannot be brought to the attention of those who can use the results. The *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics* offers an excellent medium for the publication of results of researches. This first number contains, in addition to Dr. Ely's opening article, valuable studies of "Customer Ownership of Public Utilities," by Dean Heilman, of Northwestern University School of Commerce; "Land Ownership in England Since the War," by Sir Henry Rew; "Housing in the United States," by John M. Gries, of the U. S. Department of Commerce; "Forestry and Land Development in the Lake States," by Raphael Zon, of the U. S. Forest Service; "Taxation of Public Service Industries," by Herbert D. Simpson; "Place of Tenancy in System of Farm Land Tenure," by George S. Wehrwein; "The Prevention of Economic Waste by City Planning," by Harland Bartholomew, of St. Louis; "Water Power Situation in the United States," by Walter H. Voskuil, of the University of Pennsylvania, and "Farm Mortgage Interest Rates," by Clara F. Wigder. There are also book reviews, summaries of research and comments on legislation and court decisions. The *Journal* is published quarterly for the Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities, by the A. W. Shaw Company of Chicago.

## Fusion of Swiss Reviews

**R**EALIZING the position that is and should be occupied by a periodical in the French language which desires to increase constantly the prestige and influence of Helvetic thought in other lands, the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* takes pleasure in announcing that it has just come to an agreement with the *Revue de Genève*. We wish to unite our efforts and resources in order more surely to attain the honorable goal that we have set before us. . . . We hope to satisfy ever better and better our subscribers and readers, whose advice and suggestions we shall always receive with gratitude.

**T**HIS notice appears in the November issue, the three hundred and forty-seventh monthly number, of the Lausanne publication. The *Revue Suisse*, an earlier annexation, vanishes from the title of the new combination. Undoubtedly the two cities and publications will prove once more the strength in union.

The goal here indicated is an extraordinarily difficult and delicate one. Any review printed in French, certainly any outside France, must inevitably be somewhat overshadowed by the great—and the countless little—Parisian periodicals. Moreover, as a national organ, if such be, as in this case, its aim, a Swiss issue must at best speak for a people, less than four million altogether, of whom only one-fifth use French, two-thirds speak a more or less dialectic German, and 300,000 individuals Italian. Any man has an equal right to address the chair in a Swiss legislative body in either of these three, and every law or decree must be published in all alike.

Indeed, the only language peculiar to Switzerland, Roumansch, an essentially Latin speech, is confined to 40,000 individuals, mostly rustics, and split into many patois. In this very issue of the *Bibliothèque* M. Paul Seippel, a scholar who has spoken and loved Roumansch from childhood, welcomes the first section of an exhaustive dictionary or glossary of Roumansch, edited by professors of five Swiss universities, with a host of collaborators. He echoes the enthusiasm of the editor, who calls it "the voice of the fatherland," adding: "That is not too much to say. It was time to make an inventory of this precious heritage, . . . which is threatened with complete destruction. . . . For this fair flower popular utterance is already withered, and passing to its fall."

It would not have been wholly strange, then, if the speechless folk in this little

mountain fastness of freedom had failed to reach the ears of thoughtful men in other lands as completely as the Montenegrins, or indeed the Tyrolese. Or, if the sharing of a great culture-language be a real advantage, it must be added that as a whole the Swiss are not Celtic or Latin, but rather Teutonic, akin, like their Tyrolese neighbors, even historically as well as ethnically, to the South German states. Indeed the danger of "reannexation to the Empire" has often been felt as imminent. It is no "accident" that Switzerland kept out of the great war. When has she been entangled in one? The League of Nations stands pledged that no native or foreign soldier is ever to cross her frontier lines.

Yet this minor French section of a little people, and, more particularly, this doughty little review itself, has long had a truly cosmopolitan character, a far-reaching and respected voice beyond their mountains. Just as Switzerland is par excellence the hostelry and second homeland of choice spirits (and also of uneasy, hunted folk) from every land, so its utterances often have a frank cosmopolitanism, a freedom from selfish inhibitions, or special pleading, which in Paris (or Berlin, or Rome) would be impossible. No Frenchman, Englishman, Italian, any more than a German, can speak, think, or feel impartially about the trans-Sahara railway, the Egyptian imbroglio, the occupation of the Ruhr, or even our own attitude toward European debtors. A Switzer can, and does. The *Bibliothèque* is the chief mouthpiece, at least among popular publications, of this notably independent and cosmopolitan culture. Thus the leading article in this number, "Modern Democracies," takes its inspiration avowedly from Viscount Bryce's great work, and begins, with wide sweep: "Ever since Herodotus, the word democracy . . ." The next paper is a discussion of William James' letters. No Parisian writer could refrain from analyzing either as a definitely limited and qualified contribution, at best, to that highest culture and thought of which the French language is always the supreme standard-bearer. A French-speaking Swiss can and does so refrain. It is, again, no accident that Helvetia, rather than even Holland, has been the chosen home of the surest expres-

sion of internationalism, the League of Nations.

Long may such a conning-tower as the *Bibliothèque* hail from the heights the fear-

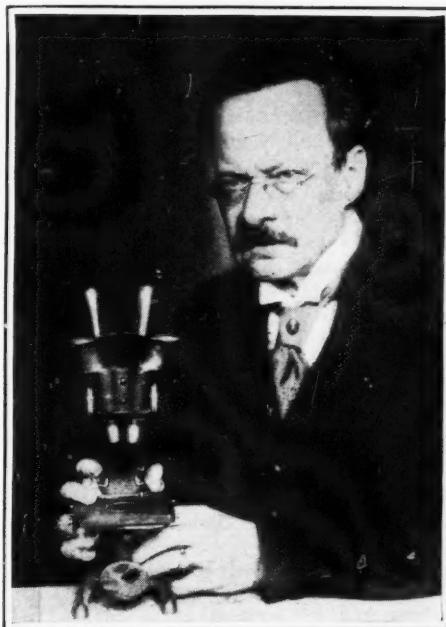
less truth-seekers of all lands. We ourselves can learn much from this other and tiny "modern democracy," which was old long before we were born.

## Professor Miethe's Own Story of How He Made Gold from Mercury

A FEW months ago the old world and the new were both startled by the announcement that a German professor, Dr. Adolf Miethe, had actually succeeded in making gold from mercury. Of course there was a good deal of scepticism about the matter. Many persons thought it probable that minute quantities of gold had existed as an impurity in the quicksilver, remaining as a residue when the latter was driven off. Fresh interest has been added to the matter by the recent announcement that an attempt to do the same thing by different methods is to be made by members of the staff of New York University under the auspices of the *Scientific American* (New York).

Under these circumstances what Dr. Miethe himself says on the matter is naturally of great weight. In a communication to one of the leading scientific periodicals in Germany, *Die Naturwissenschaften* (Berlin), he states that the first gold produced from mercury was the result of an accident. In the early part of April of the present year, he and his private assistant, Dr. H. Stammreich, first noticed a peculiar black coating on the inside of a new and improved mercury lamp manufactured by Mr. A. Jaenicke. At first they could not imagine what this was, but supposed it to be some impurity from the electrodes of the new lamp. When chemical tests showed this dark film to consist of gold they were astounded and concluded that it was probably an accidental impurity contained in the mercury. Repeated experiments precluded this belief, however, and they were forced to believe that the gold had its origin in the dissociation of the mercury atom. In Professor Miethe's own words:

I speak expressly of a dissociation rather than of a dislocation or disintegration in order not to express an opinion as to the still unexplained nature of the energies concerned in the process. But one building stone of the quicksilver atom namely, gold, was produced in quantities of sufficient magnitude—from one  $1/100$  to  $1/10$  of a miligram. These



DR. ADOLF MIETHE

quantities were sufficient to be analyzed and weighed so that it was thus possible to demonstrate that they were actually particles of gold.

Professor Miethe repeats emphatically that there can be no doubt whatever as to the actuality of the gold. Writing in July he tells us that the tediousness of the experiments which ensued upon the actual discovery and the lack of the proper instruments, explain why only a provisory statement could be made after the lapse of three months. He continues:

This new knowledge was obtained in the following manner. For several years I had been occupied with the modifications of color, effected in transparent minerals and fluid glasses, under the influence of ultra-violet or of infra-red rays. In these experiments I had made use of ordinary commercial mercury lamps. In June, 1923, I learned of A. Jaenicke's new improved mercury lamp which gave a brighter light and was, therefore, very

acceptable for my purposes. The electrodes of this lamp communicated with the air. In the winter of 1923-1924 my assistant and I observed that when the lamp was too highly charged the emission was rapidly altered and formed a black inside coating, so that the yield of ultra-violet rays rapidly began to diminish. We suspected that the mercury had been contaminated by the electrodes (carbon-iron).

When the maker of the lamps was consulted with respect to this occurrence, he said that he was already familiar with it and added that upon distilling the quicksilver from old lamps he had obtained residues whose chemical nature he was unable to ascertain. He furnished a quantity of these mysterious residues to Professor Miethe and his assistant. They proceeded to analyze half a gram of this substance (obtained by distilling 5 kilograms of mercury from old lamps). In this mass, which resembled mercury amalgam, they discovered the presence of a certain amount of gold mixed with various other impurities which probably were found in the mercury as originally used. We read:

Ten years ago this discovery would probably have scarcely been noticed. It would have seemed altogether probable that this peculiar impurity must have been contained in the original mercury—in spite of the fact that according to Jaenicke the mercury had undergone double distillation. At that time the possibility of a transformation of one element into another was regarded as merely one of the items in the rubbish-heap of human errors.

It seemed to the investigators to be quite possible that mercury, whose atomic weight is extremely close to that of the radio-active substances, could be dissociated under conditions as yet unknown. On the other hand, such a hypothesis contradicted all previous concepts.

After repeated experiments the following conclusions were reached by Professor Miethe and his assistant:

In both cases the metal was malleable beneath the polishing steel and showed the streak characteristic of fine gold. After a double reflection of the light on the surface of the polished film of metal, the well-known color of fine gold was perceptible. The solution in aqua regia was readily made and when the solution was evaporated crystals were obtained resembling in form and character those obtained from a corresponding solution of natural gold. The Cassius' test was carried out as in the case of natural gold.

It was quite impossible for us to determine the atomic weight or to demonstrate the presence of helium, hydrogen, or of a Beta and Alpha emission in the furnace. Obviously such demonstrations will be extremely difficult. Naturally, however, they are of the greatest theoretical importance.

*That the dissociation of the mercury atom thus discovered has no practical importance from an economic point of view is evident. Any supposition of this sort is extremely rash, to say the least.*

A series of so far unexplained phenomena noted in our experiments will be studied further by us. We are well aware that we face a complex series of facts of very wide scope. Naturally we do not feel justified in asking to be allowed to pursue these investigations alone.

## The Monetary Maladies of Europe, as Seen by a Wise Man of France

THIS large and perhaps disheartening subject is masterfully discussed in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris) by M. Jacques Kulp.

The first issue of paper money by direct governmental authority, as distinguished from "bank notes," is credited to the Massachusetts Colony in 1690, when unprepared to pay in cash the soldiers returning from an invasion of Canada. (Bank issues are traced back to Italy of the fourteenth century, China of the tenth.)

Remembering also our later disastrous "colonial currency," repudiated after the Revolution, it is pleasant to read that "today the United States is the only great power in the world whose money is in a perfectly healthy state." The acid test is

not merely the readiness and ability of the government to redeem its paper, at sight, in any amount; it must, also, permit the free export of gold to pay creditors in other countries. In all Europe Sweden alone (and she only since April 1st of the present year) receives a clean bill of health. England merely imposes heavy penalties on shipment of gold out of the country, but that alone has kept her notes many per cent. lower than her sovereigns, in all foreign exchanges. Every other great power is confessedly insolvent, refusing to fulfill the printed pledge on each piece of paper currency: "Redeemed at sight in specie." "Specie" is gold. (Silver is curtly dismissed as finally disposed of by its demonetization in 1873 by Germany, and the cessation in

1899 of our coinage under the Bland Bill.)

In the list of countries lightly attacked, Holland with an exchange depreciation of 7 per cent. and Switzerland at 8.5, rank above England at 12, while Spain at 44.5 seems not unlikely to drop into the next grade. But these four lesser powers all escaped from direct share in the World War, while England, after terrible losses, now with high hopes and with great sacrifices, is striving to regain for the pound sterling the position from which the dollar has displaced it as the stable unit of value for all international transactions. She seems assured, at least, of recovering that equality with us to which she has now definitely consented as to maritime forces.

Indeed, the exchange rates above cited were of date July 9, 1924. In the first week of December, only five months later, sterling, on a steady rising wave, has already reached \$4.665, less than 4 per cent. below parity with the dollar, though no continental nation has offered England any such definite basis for repayment of England's heavy loans to them as she has arranged with Washington.

The necessary conditions for assured permanent health are clearly enunciated:

- (1) An annual budget that really balances, the outgo not exceeding the income;
- (2) A commercial and financial balance (in foreign trade) that shows no deficit on the export side to cause a dangerous outflow of gold;
- (3) A currency in circulation of not over \$40 per inhabitant, protected by a gold reserve of at least 60 per cent.;
- (4) An adequate credit, in gold or gold certificates, in other exporting countries, available to steady the exchange, at critical moments, by judicious sales and purchases.

All these conditions England is steadily approaching. Switzerland and Holland may also expect soon to present a perfect bill of health. Spain's prospects are far less roseate. The political strife and the uncertain tenure of the unconstitutional dictatorship, the disastrous campaigns in Africa and final compromise with the victorious Berbers, may foreshadow for her rather a final drop into the second class. Still she may well be rated as "lightly infected," if we remember that our own gold was worth 185 at the close of the civil war, and yet in January, 1879, Secretary John Sherman brought the "greenbacks" permanently to par.

By a relatively small figure below Spain, Denmark falls into the second class with her



THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF EXCHANGES

The Old "Devises," to the four newcomers (the Austrian shilling, the Hungarian crown, the German retenmark, and the Polish zloty): "Come, now, youngsters, not so much noise!"

From *Der Götz* (Vienna, Austria)

gold worth 167 in paper, trailed by Norway 201, France 375, Belgium 405, Italy 447, Czechoslovakia 680, and so on down to Rumania 4,486. These are "seriously diseased." The conditions of health have more or less completely vanished. There is no true balance of budgets. The value of imports exceeds that of exports, causing a constant drain of gold, which is not available in sufficient amount to stabilize the currency. Too much paper is in forced circulation, and the foreign credits are deficient.

Here the chief interest of the writer naturally centers on France. In July, 1914, she was in perfect health, with 4,743 million francs in coin on hand, 5,912 of paper in circulation, 150 francs (less than \$30), for each inhabitant. The exports, plus the interest on foreign credits, exceeded the imports. The budget balanced. Gold was practically no better than paper—and even at the end of the war, in 1918, it was only 135; the needs of the millions of allies in France had almost absorbed the excess issues of paper francs. Their departure reversed the conditions. Pounds and dollars were necessities to obtain food and material to make reparations. (The immense military outlay and loans to bankrupt allies expressly to keep up their armies in the years since the war are here lightly passed over.)

A group of French business men and statesmen are eager to enter upon such a sustained effort as England has made, to restore the paper franc to full parity with

gold, even at the cost of a heavy levy on capital, in addition to the present grievous burden of taxation. They point not only to our experience of 1861-79, or to England's present successful struggle, but to the notorious *assignats*, and later crises, from which French currency and credit successfully recovered.

To all this the writer makes a notable adverse argument. By careful figures he shows that France has actually been impoverished, on the whole, since 1914, by loss of her most valuable lives and industrial equipment, despite the great economic gain in a restored Alsace-Lorraine. If by any miracle, or frantic effort, the paper franc were to-day sent to par, the public debt would equal the whole national assets, and the State would become hopelessly insolvent. Mr. Harvey Fisk's figures are quoted to show why England, with 73 billions of assets in the British Isles alone and an imperial debt of only 32, can profitably do what for France is impossible.

The first necessity, far above all else, is stability. No man can safely embark his means or credit in any investment if a mere fluctuation of exchange will cause him heavy loss in a month or a week hence. The paper franc must be promptly stabilized at a rate which will make it possible—without crushing business and the whole people under still heavier taxation—to balance the budget. An elaborate series of figures and arguments fixes this point as being the actual current exchange, of 18 for a dollar (and 80 for a pound; but this must now be raised to 84 at least). The promised budget-balancing is after all a euphemism, for it ignores the foreign debts on the one hand, and the prospective reparation in money from Germany on the other. It is noticeable that the first feature of the French

proposal just made (December 1, 1924) to our Government is a long moratorium during which no interest, even, is to be paid.

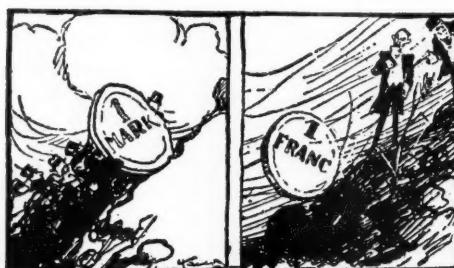
The wide sweep of the writer's financial studies is once more shown by a detailed citation of Argentina's experience. Between 1863 and 1898, the premium on gold fell from 346 to 127. But this rapid deflation was felt severely by all borrowers, including the Government, from the necessity of repaying loans in a unit of value growing steadily dearer. So the paper was deliberately stabilized at 127. All taxes and promissory notes were payable in this depreciated currency. For fifteen years gold and paper circulated freely side by side—until in 1914 gold was no longer paid out, and its export was forbidden, as in all lands. Even so, the Bank of Exchange had accumulated gold up to 80 per cent. of the paper circulation, and the premium on gold had dropped to 15 per cent.

The equally notable failure of an attempt by Brazil to imitate Argentina is adequately explained. In 1906, the value of the paper milreis was legally fixed at about 71 per cent. of the gold coin—much higher than the then current value. There followed a heavy forced circulation of inconvertible paper money side by side with the guaranteed bills: and as always happens, the bad money drove the good out of use, thus compelling repeated issues of the former, with constantly increasing depreciation.

Whither such a vicious policy leads has been recently demonstrated to all the world in Russia and in Germany. The writer gives brief space to this class of countries, in which the premium on gold has reached "an astronomic height"—or, in the vernacular, gone "sky-high." For them the only escape is frank repudiation, with all its cruelty and injustice to the whole creditor class, followed by the adoption of a stable money unit, moderate issue of duly protected paper—and the most rigid economy as well as honesty.

Perhaps the most curious detail is that Turkey does not appear in this class, into which it has so often and shamelessly plunged in the past, but holds a comparatively respectable place in the second division, with a gold unit at a valuation of 8½ in paper, as against Bulgaria 26, and Rumania 45.

The paper will without doubt attract the attention and careful perusal of all specialists, and the vigorous opposition of some.



EXPERTS ARE WORKING TO STABILIZE THE MARK,  
WHILE . . .  
From *L'Œuvre* (Paris, France)

## A German View of the Inter-Allied Debts

THE brief leading article in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for November, signed Georg Schaller, is notable for its sane views and moderation in expression. The connection with the problem of reparations is fairly stated, with a temperate regret that the London Conference did not, or could not, reach a definite settlement of the debts question as a basis for the solution of the other. The author expects an eventual payment by Germany of about forty billion dollars.

The figures as to the various debts are taken bodily, with due acknowledgment, from a very recent American book, "The Inter-Ally Debts," published in New York by the Bankers' Trust Company. Three periods are distinguished. Down to April, 1917, England financed all her allies with great liberality, while France lent to others most of what she borrowed. From our entrance into the war the United States was the chief lender, though England still passed on much of what she accepted to the poorer states. Before the war ended Europe was heavily in our debt. But in a third period, by no means closed, we are loaning heavily to continental powers to reestablish normal conditions of industry and trade; and France still loans all too freely. The interest rate on war loans,  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., rose thereafter to  $4\frac{1}{4}$ , but, with the notable exception of England, no state has made a move to meet even the accrued interest.

As to the question of striking off or reducing these transatlantic debts, American citizens regard it purely from the standpoint of international policy. The American's logic is simple: "We lent them money, they must pay it back."

But whether this is really beneficial to his own land may be questioned, if one realizes the close economic relations between the two continents. The payments for interest and principal can be provided for only by very heavy taxation, which lowers the whole standard of living for a nation. That immediately causes a falling-off of imports. For this the American producer, whether farmer or industrialist, must suffer, in the lessening or complete stagnation of his foreign trade. The economic world crisis has its original cause in the indebtedness of Europe, which creates the destructive accumulation of gold in the United States. So a generous

decision to scale down the European debt would relieve the economic as well as the political tension.

Despite some able advocacy here at home, no such action is expected by this German observer. Not that the people generally would make strenuous protest against a decision by the government to move in that direction. A chief (if not the chief) reason is fairly enough stated: If France, besides her own huge army, the largest in the world, can continue the policy of subsidizing the military equipment of "her vassal states" (in the Balkans and northward to the Baltic), then she might far better make some effort to pay her debts. And naturally, we can hardly offer to Italy and the others, least of all to Russia, what we refuse to France. This argument could indeed have been strengthened by allusion to the astonishing growth of France's air fleet, and the trans-Saharan railway project, avowedly planned for the purpose of throwing into the next European war a million or two of Equatorial Negroes, educated only for the destruction of white men.

The United States is to-day the chief creditor nation, with Europe owing her nearly twelve billion dollars, principal and



A LESSON IN INTEGRITY

(The world's honest old gentleman, to whom more money is owing than he owes, continues to astonish those who insist he is decadent)

From the *Daily Star* (Montreal, Canada)

interest. But while England is our largest debtor (four and one half billions), closely followed by France with four and Italy two billions, Great Britain is nevertheless also a creditor nation, having credits of over nine billions, of which France owes two and Italy two, while the discouraging Russian account stands at three and three-quarter billions.

The final words of this temperate and excellent discussion are very frankly pointed:

Whatever plans may be made at the approaching conference as to the disposition of the Inter-Ally

debts, it depends, in the last analysis, on America, the chief creditor. Since these debts and the reparations are so closely interwoven, Germany's eyes are also fixed on the United States. America holds the scales in her hand. Though signs are to be described of improvement in the world's economic plight through the definitive departure of the United States from the policy of voluntary isolation, we may venture to repeat once more Nitti's question: "What will America do?"

Surely, this at least: She will welcome to the free forum of international discussion any such old-fashioned German thoroughness, objectivity and frankness as are here exemplified.

## Dutch Comment on the Geneva Protocol

THE European journals during the past three months have contained many articles dealing with the protocol adopted by the League of Nations in September. In our November number we quoted from a Swedish estimate of the Protocol. Under date of October 22 Dr. J. H. W. Verzijl contributes to *Vragen des Tijds* ("Questions of the Day"), a monthly periodical published at Haarlem, an extended article on the subject. After summarizing the history of the League and its achievements during the five years of its existence, this writer declares that much of what the League has accomplished thus far in the interest of peace has at different times been more or less clouded by partisanship and by a leaning—in itself comprehensible—toward an inclination to reach a politically acceptable result. From the standpoint of the impartial critic the Council may be regarded as more at fault than the Assembly.

However, Dr. Verzijl deprecates harsh judgments. He says:

We could not within reason expect to realize ideals in full by the turning of a hand. There is too deep a chasm between the devious ways of the old diplomacy and the ideals of the League of Nations, while the violent passions roused by the world war are still remembered.

That a great work has been accomplished through the Protocol of Geneva has been clearly defined by the report of the learned statesman, the Greek Politis, in conjunction with that of the gifted Benes, the minister of foreign affairs of Czechoslovakia.

The Protocol has laid the foundation of the jurisdiction, that will ensure the future organization, upon which the peace of the world rests. However, the legal power, which guarantees such "peace," awaits ratification, first by the individual States, thereafter in the conference to be held in Geneva in June, 1925, for limitation of armaments. No doubt its practical application will encounter resistance

on the part of those, who are prone to regard juridical regulation as useless. A union of states can be but successful, when it is governed by the ethical ideals of "justice."

It is, however, undeniable that a great step into the right direction was taken by the Protocol of Geneva. To follow the expression of Politis: "The compulsory arbitration is the real foundation of the proposed system, while it clearly is the only means to the end, the final purpose of the League of Nations, and the permanent and peaceful justice in the relationship between the peoples of this earth." The system of arbitration enables the League to name the aggressor or aggressors, whenever the peace of the world is endangered.

The questions which might cause international peril are referred to an International Court of Justice or to a Committee of Arbitration, and no means will be overlooked (including moral and economic pressure) to avoid an armed conflict. Military activities are only to be applied in the very last instance. The Council acts only as general adviser in maintaining sanctions, devised by the League. The obligation of the members of the League to assist in upholding the world's peace has been clearly defined in all particulars.

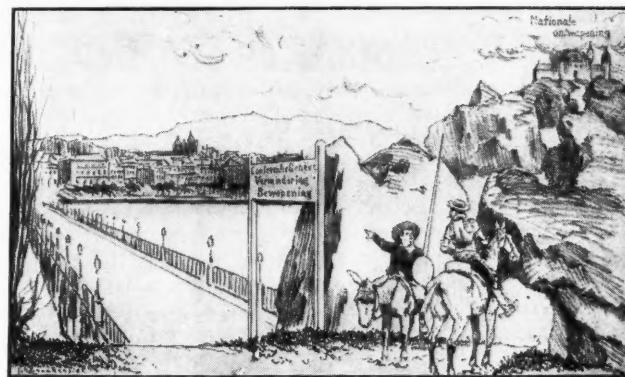
The text of the Protocol is somewhat vague in the given explanation; evidently it is father to the wish to bring the conflicting elements together at any price, to combine in one formula the obligations and the freedom of the States. Underlying the apparent vagueness of Benes, however, is the man's statesmanship, because an idealistic institution of an international police never has worked out in practice, while the question remains open whether the remedy would not prove to be worse than the malady. Moreover the sanctions as a preventive are of far greater weight than as a means of repression.

Arbitration, condemnation of any aggressive warfare, sanction for national safety: at present there is but one link in

the chain missing: that of limitation of national armaments. While the other links are adjuncts or complements to "arbitration," the result of the coming conference will furnish the test of the Protocol.

Arbitration follows two procedures. Should friction between two League members arise in such a way, that it might assume a dangerous character, but does not fall under the jurisdiction of the International Court, while the interested parties will not agree voluntarily to submit it to the Court or to arbitrators, then the matter must be referred to the Council, which will consider arbitration as an instrument of justice as well as peace, but must render its decision unanimously. If one party is willing to abide by arbitration, but the other (or others) is not, then the arbitration becomes "obligatory" in the "first degree." Should the Council fail to reach an unanimous decision the question will be submitted to a committee of arbitrators, organized by the Council itself without consulting the disagreeing parties. That is called "obligatory arbitration" in the "second degree."

However, each of the dissenting parties can appeal to the Assembly, when the functions of the Council will be transmitted to the other body. No conflicting opinions can escape the network of "ways and means" to secure the world's peace. Benes delivered the oracular statement: "Every state is judge of the manner in which to meet its obligations, but not of the question whether those obligations really exist."



DISARMAMENT PROPAGANDA IN HOLLAND  
SANCHO PANZA: "Let's go that way and remain on level ground (Geneva)"  
DON QUIXOTE: "No. I prefer castles in the air!" (National Disarmament).

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

Rarely have the prospects been so bright, the opportunities so favorable, but at the same time the responsibilities resting on governments and people alike, and through them in a lighter measure on all of us, have seldom been heavier than at the present time.

Politis struck the right chord at the end of the introduction to his book about "La Justice Internationale," when he stated: "In spite of all appearances to the contrary a better future is being shaped for humanity, a future of which the formation rests upon the good-will of everyone."

Such seems to be the conclusion of the Dutch writer.

## Africa in World Politics

IT WOULD be difficult to put into a really learned yet readable and convincing monograph, upon a topic of crucial importance to the problems of to-morrow, more than has been packed into 8000 words by Konrad Hofmann in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for November. The detailed geographical and ethnological descriptions and the history of explorations and conquests are so masterly, so clear and so modern in method, that they will be helpful even to the most competent specialist. But naturally the discussion of present conditions and imminent contingencies is still more absorbing. The national sympathies of the writer are neither concealed nor emphasized:

We realize fully that the World War has lessened

the respect of the colored races for the whites, and increased their antagonism to the overlordship of the Europeans. The spread of the war into colonial lands, the visible shattering of solidarity among the white races, was a violent shock. What is quite as serious, blacks learned to use firearms to kill their masters. This has helped on "The African Movement." Its aims include the political union of all blacks, the reconquest of "Africa for the Africans."

But this emancipation of the natives lies in an invisible future, however alluring and effective it may prove as an ideal and a watchword. They are utterly immature for political independence, if indeed they can ever be fit for it. The negro agitator, the West Indian Marcus Garvey, who would lead back the widely-scattered natives of the dark continent, especially from America, and drive the whites out of

Africa, is altogether premature in setting himself up as "President of the African Republic." For our own generation, and for many more of our posterity, Africa is to remain a colonial land, an annex of Europe, providing a moderate amount of tropical fruits, gold, diamonds, and so forth, to mankind—as it once did, almost solely, white and black ivory.

Just two centers of Negro independence exist to-day, little Liberia, hardly visible on the map, is "protected," both politically and financially, by the United States—the only trace of non-European influence; and Abyssinia, on its Alpine plateau, shut in and shut out from the sea by rival white races, is for the moment escaping easy conquest only through their jealousies, and hardly capable of any approach to real civilization, despite its railroad, its bank with its coinage, and even its "constitutional ministry" in mimicry of white usages.

Spain and Italy are not successful in conquest or colonization. Portuguese and the far more important Belgian Africa are rapidly approaching economic dependence on, if not absorption by, England. The expulsion of Germany, "under the camouflage of the mandates," is accepted as final so far as any political world-future can be described. Africa is firmly held in the grip of the two great colonizing nations, France and England.

The writer hardly succeeds in concealing his interest in the prospect of a conflict between these two "which would bring about altogether new national affiliations." Though he does not explicitly recall the two great previous struggles, for North America and for India, he rather foreshadows as probable a similar result; and Africa would be, he declares, the chief battle-ground and winner's prize.

France dominates more and more securely the northern plateaus, and holds the immense mass of Central Africa, one-fourth of the continent, doubling the home population and six-fold her own area. But the Sahara and other desert lands are included. On the East side her holdings are a minor obstacle to English ambitions. The trans-Sahara railroad project and its avowed object—to throw into the next European struggle twice or thrice the 600,000 black fighters France used in the World War, are frankly laid bare. It will be remembered that recent French publicists have con-

fessed that the weak link in the plan was the passage from Algeria to Marseilles, "in the remote event of opposition by such a marine power as England."

That power the writer sees retiring in some sense from the Atlantic, where our own acknowledged equality in total naval force really accords us a decided advantage over the world-wide scattered British fleet. The German territory gives England the lion's share of the inhabitants, productions and trade of the dark continent, and removes the only serious foreign interruption in the long-planned Cape-to-Cairo Railway.

Yet even this far-flung Eastward coastline of a thousand leagues is regarded as merely a sort of flying buttress to the real life-line of defense that runs via Gibraltar, Malta, Suez, to Calcutta and even to Singapore.

In serious trouble with England, the giant African empire of France is threatened on every side: from British East Africa, from the whole Atlantic coast, where Sierra Leone, Gambia, the Gold Coast and Nigeria are sally-ports for the English offensive, and, most vitally of all, from the Mediterranean, where the Briton, leaning on Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus and Egypt, throws everything into the balance to choke off the connection between colonial and motherland, and thus shut off the main artery of the enemy's strategy. Then not only questions of power in Africa come to decision: it is a life and death question between the two great colonizing powers themselves. It is England that has the brighter prospect, because the center-point of the conflict is on the sea—always provided that her widespread Empire still holds together, or that some new invention or a military surprise in force does not accomplish the prompt subjugation of the Briton's island-home itself.

The passage is an adequate example of the writer's large and vivid style. Nothing—unless, perhaps, the persistent use of the vivid present tense—betrays the thrill of consciousness that such a day might almost prove "Der Tag" itself.

At the turn of the last leaf, however, begins a frank and effective protest against the action at Versailles which excludes even the German trader or scientific traveler from the lands where his fatherland yesterday bestrode a continent and blocked the British dream of uniting Egypt with the Cape Colonies.

It is in these two centers, by the way, that the struggle for complete independence is mentioned as the rock on which the whole Empire may shipwreck. The omission of India from such a passage may betray the limitations even of so large-minded a special student.

## Where Christ Meets Buddha

THE very title of this article as it appears in the *Forum* (New York) for December may cause a shock of surprise to some readers, but the article itself, dealing with the two greatest religions of the world, may shock no one. It is from the pen of Mr. Dwight Goddard, a missionary of the American Board in China. It is his contact with Buddhism which has brought him to a keen realization of the philosophic oneness of the two religions. He says:

In the deeper philosophy of Buddhism there is much that is closely akin to what is generally accepted as Christian truth. Buddhists believe in a divine trinity just as Christians do. It differs in different sects, but in essence it is similar. The First Person is the Uncreated Essence of Buddhahood, the absolute ground of all being. What Christians call God, Buddhists call Amitabha Buddha, and the very name and conception of Amitabha, which means Lord of Boundless Life and Light and Love, has distinct derivation from Gnostic and Christian sources. The Second Person is always some historical incarnation of essential Buddhahood who, like Gautama, has come to earth to show men the way of salvation and who is now glorified in Nirvana, or like Maitreya, who is the Buddha that is yet to come. The Third Person is Kway-yin, who is conceived of as expressing the inexhaustible and eternal activity of the spirit of divine mercy and compassion.

The ever-present conception of Nirvana, the pure land, is very much the same as what Christians call heaven, except that the emphasis is on a state of being, rather than on any idea of place. Both Christians and Buddhists see evil, not as an abstract principle, or objective demons, but as a moral reaction of the soul; Buddhists see its cause in physical desire, Christians, in willful disobedience. Both see a way of salvation through faith in a Divine Person; Buddhists through restraint of desire, Christians through obedience of will. If we consider "will" as predominant desire, the similarity is closer still.

Buddhist ideals of purity, goodness, moral beauty, mercy, kindness, love, faith, trust, are identical with Christian ideals. Mr. Goddard declares that the Buddhist evaluation of prayer and meditation is even higher than among Christians. The Buddhist practice of public worship is very similar to what is known as "High-Church" liturgical Christian worship.

Both Christians and Buddhists recognize a Divine Element in human nature that is the ground of, and which ultimately will be unified in, the Divine. "Both religions aim at bringing humanity into this unity; Buddhism sees the goal of salvation to be an undifferentiated participation in the unified moral purity of Nirvana; Christianity sees

the goal to be a conscious fellowship in the unifying life hid with Christ in God, which, after all, is not so very different."

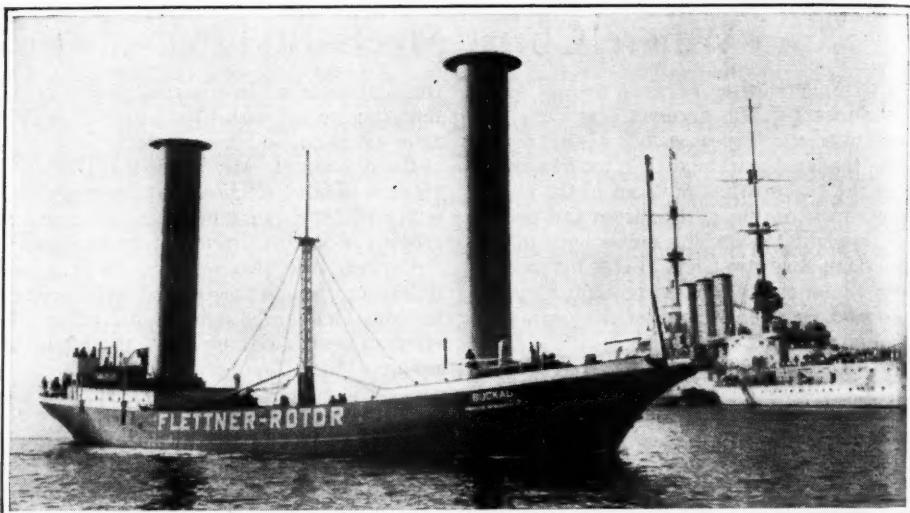
Buddhism, as Mr. Goddard shows, is tolerant of other religions. It has never been guilty of cruel persecutions in the name of religion or for the defense of its doctrines.

Between the two religions there is one difference that is crucial and before which in Mr. Goddard's opinion all other differences shrink out of sight as of relative unimportance:

The crucial difference lies in a single word, the little word "only." Buddhists believe there have been many Buddhas in the past, and that there are many to come as the world has need of them. They adore Gautama and see in him, the Blessed One, the "One who has attained." The One who is now exalted to be one with all the Buddhas. On the contrary, Christians believe that Jesus the Christ is the only begotten Son of God. If Christians would be willing to think of Jesus as one of the world's divine saviors, who, like Gautama, has been exalted to sit at the right hand of God the Father and to be one with Him in Glory—if Christians would be willing to omit that one tiny word "only"—there is no other reason why these two great world religions might not federate tomorrow. Only one little word, but it has made Christianity from the beginning exclusive and intolerant, and plunged it into a maze of bewildering dogma.

Mr. Goddard thinks that there are historical reasons for believing that the deeper things which the two religions have in common are due in part to missionary contact during the first five or six centuries of the Christian era. But even if these historical steps lack proof or should later be disproved, the fact of similarity remains. In Mr. Goddard's view the essential likeness of Buddhism and Christianity does not lie in dogma and philosophy as much as it does in the common faith of their founders. The practical situation is outlined by Mr. Goddard as follows:

At present the Christian church stands in an antagonistic attitude toward Buddhism, the opposite of which is not true, as the Buddhist church is and always has been friendly toward Christianity. But at present there is no free contact between them. One can easily make a friendly acquaintance with an individual monk, but that is as far as it goes. What is needed is the mechanism for a larger and more continuing contact; a known and fixed place of meeting; a magazine and literature that will be of mutual interest and mutual circulation; a repository for books and research materials of mutual concern; a center for discovering friendships and for conserving the fruits of friendships.



THE NEW GERMAN ROTOR SHIP WHICH USES THE POWER OF SEA WINDS TO DRIVE IT  
(In place of sails or masts the ship is fitted with two metal cylinders which are made to revolve one hundred times a minute, thus generating power as described in the accompanying article)

## The Sailless Sail Boat, Invented by Flettner

MUCH interest has been awakened in this country and, indeed, all over the world, by the announcement made a few weeks ago that a German engineer, Mr. Anton Flettner, had invented a practical "sail boat" not only capable of sailing the ocean without any visible sails, but also possessed of such high efficiency that it is freely predicted in some quarters that it will eventually make the use of ordinary boats, driven by coal or oil, practically a thing of the past. There have been many attempts to guess at the method by which such a thing might be possible. And to tell the truth there has been a good deal of scepticism about the matter, not only here but in Germany. In a late number of *Reclams Universum*, however, we find a logical and plausible explanation of the process written by an engineer named Erich Lasswitz.

It must be understood at the beginning that Anton Flettner is neither a novice nor an impractical visionary but, on the contrary, a well-known engineer with some outstanding inventions to his credit, in the field of practical aerodynamics and hydrodynamics. He has given his invention the name of rotor sail boat or simply rotor boat. The former term is the better, since in a broad general sense the boat may be said to possess sails, *i. e.*, surfaces so placed as to

receive the pressure of the wind and thus make use of its driving force. The difference is that these sails are not like either those used from time immemorial on ordinary sail boats or like the planes used in aircraft. As we shall see they are of different shape and size and most important of all they are made to revolve by means of a small motor. As Mr. Lasswitz says:

The manner in which sails make use of wind power is well known. A surface is placed in the current of air so that the latter has its path interfered with, is compressed to a certain degree and thus exerts pressure on the sail. But this action has never possessed a high degree of efficiency in proportion to the force exerted.

Hence when a large heavy boat had to be propelled with considerable speed, a large spread of sail was required, and this in turn necessitated a numerous crew. That is why freight steamers drove the old commercial sailing ships pretty much off the waters.

The enormous development of aircraft since that memorable day when the Wrights made the first flight at Kitty Hawk had led to an intensive study of every aspect of the pressure of the atmosphere upon plane and curved surfaces. Flettner has long been concerned with such problems. Several years ago he invented a rudder activated by a current. The basic principle of this,

which was demonstrated by him, first in aircraft and later in boats, was that a freely movable steering surface—which might be either the rudder of a huge airplane or the steering rudder of a ship—was inevitably influenced and “set” in any desired position whenever any portion of the surface was placed in the given position. In other words a large surface placed so as to receive pressure from a current of air or water, will automatically assume the same position as a small surface attached to it at one end. In accordance with this law the Flettner rudder was constructed. It consists of a small auxiliary rudder which is operated by hand, and which is attached to the end of the principal rudder, the result being that the latter instantly assumes the same position or direction as that imparted by the steersman to the auxiliary rudder.

The second important discovery made by Flettner was that the efficiency of a sail or other surface exposed to pressure could be increased by causing it to rotate. To understand this it must be explained that we have here a means of obviating what is technically known as the “Magnus Effect.”

The Magnus Effect, which was discovered about seventy years ago, refers to the fact that when a sail or any other body is placed in a current of air or water an area of disturbance occurs at the point where the contraction of the current ceases, in other words, at that point where the diminution of the body occurs. It was Flettner’s problem to find a method by which this area or stratum of disturbance, the effect of which is largely to neutralize the propulsive

force of the current, could be obviated. He finally hit upon the idea of causing the body placed in the current of air to rotate and found to his satisfaction that this caused the aforesaid disturbance to practically disappear.

But it was not feasible, naturally, to cause the large surfaces of ordinary sail to rotate. He, therefore, constructed sheet metal rotors. These are three metres in diameter and from 15 to 18 metres in height. These rotor sails are driven by a small motor and revolve about their vertical axes about 100 times per minute. The results obtained were amazing—so much so indeed, that they seem revolutionary. To quote again from our authority:

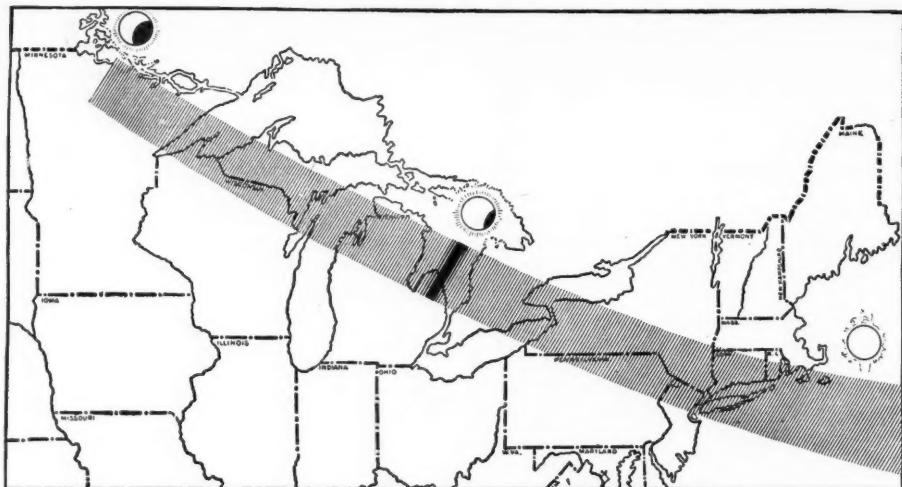
The rotor-shaped sails exerted upon the ship a propulsive force 10 to 15 times as great as that obtained in an ordinary canvas sail having an equal surface area. It was likewise found possible to travel under a very small angle of wind, in order to tack it was only necessary to alter the direction of rotation of the rotor shaped sails.

It is estimated that enormous savings can be obtained in the carrying of freight by fitting boats with these rotor sails instead of with fuel-driven motors. For instance, it is believed that at present rates about 800,000 marks’ worth of fuel can be saved in the passage from Hamburg to Eastern Asia. If these promises hold good a sharp check will be given to the hitherto alarming diminution in the earth’s stores of wood and coal. Likewise there seems no reason why it should not be possible to employ these rotor sails in windmills likewise, thus storing up energy from every breeze that blows.

## This Year’s Solar Eclipse and Radio

ON JANUARY 24, 1925, there will occur a total eclipse of the Sun, visible along a path about one-hundred miles in width, extending northwesterly from New York City and the Connecticut shore of Long Island Sound to northern Minnesota and Canada. For New York, Pennsylvania and New England this will be the first visitation of the kind since 1806, and in this part of the United States there will not be another total eclipse visible until the year 2024. In the thickly settled area of the Eastern United States only a very few total eclipses have been visible since the Continent was first occupied by the whites.

The *Scientific American* (New York), mentioning the fact that professional astronomers at the great observatories have been making preparations for studying the mystery of the Sun’s corona, the “shadow bands” that sometimes accompany eclipses and many other allied phenomena, reminds us that even amateur observers, not equipped with expensive telescopes or spectroscopes, can still do something to help the cause of science. Especially the *Scientific American* will attempt by the aid of radio “fans” throughout the country to obtain answers to certain questions that have been puzzling the astronomers:



PATH OF THE TOTAL SOLAR ECLIPSE OF JANUARY 24, 1925

Last year in California there was another eclipse of the sun. The weather was cloudy and the astronomers got only very few photographs or observations.

But the few radio fans who had arranged to listen during the eclipse heard some remarkable things.

As the sun's shadow swept past at its speed of a thousand miles an hour, the intensity of radio signals suddenly increased, then suddenly decreased. The effects were somewhat the same as those of nightfall, but not quite the same. The observers on duty were too few to permit certainty.

So we are left with the question of what a solar eclipse really does do to radio transmission.

Does the shadow path behave like any other variety of darkness? Does it operate as a reflecting mirror to send back radio waves toward their point of origin, or does it bend them in one direction or another, or does it leave them unaffected? During the eclipse not only will the light from the sun be cut off, but also the stream of electrons that is supposed to be flying all the time toward the earth will be altered. What effects will this have on radio transmission?

No one knows the answers to these questions. The *Scientific American* proposes to try to answer them.

A group of qualified radio listeners and amateurs will be formed and instructed. Special signals will be sent out by selected broadcasting stations. The listeners will keep accurately timed records of signal strength, fading, static, and other features of radio reception. After the eclipse a committee of famous radio engineers will study this mass of information and will try to see what it means.

In its comment on these proposed observations the *New York Times* for December 7 says:

It is a well-known fact that the sun weakens radio waves, and it has been estimated that the rays of the sun absorb 70 per cent. of the energy from the

ether waves. It is thought that daytime transmission is largely carried on by means of waves moving along the surface of the ground and night transmission is by means of waves transmitted along a "heavyside" layer in the sky. This heavyside surface, or conducting layer, is estimated to be about sixty miles above the earth, and several theories hold its irregular surface responsible for fading. Waves transmitted at night are free from the more uniform absorption encountered in daylight, according to conclusions based on the result of 5,684 observations, made by ten transmitting stations and 100 receiving stations. Scientists wonder if the shadow of a solar eclipse will have a similar effect.

Astronomers believe that a stream of electrons, which affect radio waves, are flying all the time around the earth and if the light from the sun is cut off a freak effect may be noticed. Some believe that fading is caused by a permanently ionized region, which as a good conductor is impenetrable by the waves. From the electrical standpoint the atmosphere is not a perfect dielectric or insulator, because the gases constituting it are ionized partly by the influence of cathodic rays from the sun.

Radio experts say that it is not likely that the eclipse will have any marked effect on broadcasting stations and receiving stations unless they are within the shadow belt. Listeners in Western New York, Connecticut, Northern Pennsylvania and New Jersey will have the best opportunity to note the effect on broadcasting stations. For example, if listeners in Connecticut hear WGR, Buffalo, between 6 A. M. and 10 A. M., it would certainly be an indication that the shadow of the eclipse aided radio transmission. Station WGY, Schenectady, will be just outside the shadow band. Stations in Chicago and other distant cities are not audible in New York during the daylight, and it is not likely that a narrow shadow belt will affect their waves, because the sunshine outside the eclipse area will have had its absorbing effect on the energy before the feeble impulses strike the shadow.

## A Good Word for Cubism

**A CRITIC** of eccentricity in art, M. Georges Ricou, discourses about that tendency in *L'Art et les Artistes* (Paris) and incidentally castigates wanton exponents of the game of brag (*esbrouffe*) in aesthetic work. He says:

The quest of originality was formerly a matter of conscience with the true artist. Nowadays it is simply a method of attracting notice and press publicity, and under the pretense of being bold and original, ignorance and vanity work hand-in-glove.

M. Ricou sees in this form of agoramania, or love of publicity, a twofold danger—one to the critical sense, the other to public taste. Young artists lose the sense of what is classical, while the public is bewildered by what is represented as being a form of art. Says M. Ricou:

The first victims are those artists who possess no very fixed notions; they do not actually doubt as to their vocation, but they certainly doubt as to the surest and swiftest methods of "arriving," and so turn with avidity to all styles, in their search for inspiration and suggestion. Most singular, too, is the fact that the greatest compliment one can pay to an artist, in these days, is to declare that his "originality" is attributable to certain ancestral strains, and this, if not a reasoned explanation, is at least the excuse advanced for him.

Nevertheless M. Ricou is willing to allow

that the temporary divagation into "eccentricity," by a true artist, may have its compensations. He cites the case of P. E. Gernez, who, beginning as a "classic," was soon seduced by the impressionist schools and finally threw himself into the Cubist movement, only to emerge therefrom fully convinced that only the "classical" school counted in true art. M. Ricou explains:

One result of his excursion into Cubism is that the pictures of Gernez, admittedly one of the younger masters, express only those characteristics which are absolutely essential. The "anecdotal" detail disappears; the arabesque, that weakens the spectator's emotion, vanishes; what remains is solely those essential features which create a true resemblance. That is to be placed to the credit of Cubism, and absolute clearness and strength are the reward of those artists who have worked with the Cubist movement which inculcates the necessity of accepting discipline in the interest of high art, and which, far from making its devotee cold and rigid, transmutes his taste for the florid and exaggerated into a love of clear, concise and vivid portrayal. That result is shown in oils, in aquarelles and in pastel-work. In aquarelles and pastels, the ex-Cubist ceases to show that mincing affectation and feebleness so often seen in the work of artists in water-colors and crayon. Self-criticism and poise have emerged from this form of art-eccentricity in the case of one important French artist. That is an excuse for its existence.

## Characteristic Russian Art

**AN INQUIRY** into the "Characteristics of Russian Art" is contributed by Prof. Georgio Lukomski to the *Emporium*, an Italian magazine of art published monthly at Bergamo. M. Lukomski, who is a professor of architecture, deals very comprehensively with Russia's efforts to find artistic expression, admitting very candidly that "Russian art is incomplete and that it is not possible to define or classify it. It is art of the second class, but it must be admitted that in the imitative work produced by Russian artists, a contribution of a high order in that category has been made to the world's esthetic productions."

In its first endeavors, Russian art was badly hampered, M. Lukomski says, by the cast-iron ordinances of the Orthodox Church which forbade sculpture and permitted painting only for application to the ikon.

The result of Russia's position, at the dividing point between Asia and Europe, is that her art is a cross-bred variety; or better, it is like her national eagle—two-headed, with one head turned toward the East, the other toward the West. With Mongolian, Byzantine and Greek ideas as its inspirations, the art of Muscovy has, by the very circumstances of the country's geographical and political position in the world, been reduced to a kind of immobility which is fatal to all great esthetic work. . . . The social condition of a people, which is 80 per cent. agricultural, also worked against the production of artistic centers which might develop schools of national art with specific principles and methods.

According to this authority, there have been two branches of art in which Russian workers have really distinguished themselves; these are architecture—particularly in the erection of cathedrals—and the painting of ikons. In this latter work, the masterpieces of Rublef and Dionisj, both famous Sixteenth Century ikon-artists, are

worthy to be compared with Italian painting of the Thirteenth Century. M. Lukomski proceeds:

The Sixteenth Century is the era of art-renascence in Russia. After the ikon-artists came the ceramic workers, the decorators of wood and metal. In their color-schemes the Russian artists have always shown a marked taste for strong and salient traits—a relic of their Tartar ancestry. There is a special term used by Russian artists in this connection, to wit, "Knasota," which signifies any "loud" color—particularly one with scarlet effects. This is the chief tone in nearly all Russian paintings, just as vastness is the chief mark of their architectural structures, this vastness—corresponding to a kind of megalomania or love of pomp in the Russian character—being also found even in the construction of their villas and country houses in the most isolated parts of the country.

According to M. Lukomski there are certain traits innate in the Russian's character, which preclude his ever attaining a really high place in art-work, excellence and aptitude in which are conditioned by

the "gift for patient elaboration." The Russian, he says, has no gift or capacity for "taking infinite pains," and the result is that he never goes down deeply enough to touch the strata where originality is only to be found. As a further result of this, his work shows up better where "sketchiness" is called for by the nature of his task, and, again, he is easily moved by new ideas; if Cubism becomes the fashion, the Russian jumps to an exaggerated Cubism, and as a rule, even in his most serious art-work, says M. Lukomski,

there is no method or measure, no fundamental principle or scheme, and he works as if under the constant influence of artificial stimulant. He is a dreamer rather than a realist, more passive than active, more imitative than creative. And although he is not comparable with the Frenchman or the Italian as a producer of art-works, he is not entirely "local" or "provincial," and has made himself artistically distinct from the Pole, the Czech and the Lower Slav.

## The Color Sense in Birds

**A**MONG the most richly-colored and attractive things in nature are certain members of the kingdom of birds, particularly in the tropics, for many of them rival the brilliant blossoms of the same region. These colors are often brightest at the mating season, which suggests the inquiry as to the effect the colors have on the birds themselves. The question is discussed in a late number of *Kosmos* (Stuttgart) by Dr. Erna Hahn-Haslinger. Obviously the problem can be decided only by experimental tests as to the manner in which the sense of vision in birds is affected by one color or another. We read:

The oldest method of research consists of the *training* of birds to distinguish certain colors (1913). Colorless grains such as rice were colored with non-poisonous dyes. Domestic fowls, for example, were trained to perceive a certain color—for example, red-colored grains were glued to a piece of black pasteboard while other grains were scattered loosely round about. The fowls quickly learned that they could not pick up the red grains glued to the pasteboard and consequently they made no attempt to pick up the other red grains though these were loose. It was an essential part of the experiment, likewise, to use grains not only dyed with definite colors but those dyed with various tints of gray, since, otherwise, there was a possibility that the grains would be recognized not by their actual colors but by the varying degrees of luminosity, a distinction which can be made by the totally color-blind.

A curious psychological factor was also noted, namely, a "blue-fear" on the part of the fowls due to the fact that they are not accustomed to food of a blue color. Another investigator (Hess) altered the experiment in the following manner: instead of coloring the rice he sprinkled it in the colored band of a spectrum in a dark room. He observed that the fowls paid no attention to the grains lying in the blue and violet. He concluded, therefore, that fowls exhibit "a blue blindness as compared to human beings." Since, however, fowls trained to look for blue food immediately pick up the grains in the blue portion of the spectrum, it is obvious that we have here not actual blue blindness but merely a mental reaction to blue. In order to investigate this question another experimenter, the present author, placed uncolored grains upon colored plates consisting of black cardboard surrounded by a wide border of gray or colored paper. She found that the fowls were quickly trained to seek their food on the blue plates alone, proving that their eyes are quite capable of distinguishing the color blue. Other experiments were made by the author to determine the relative sensitivity of the eye to color in the case of day birds and night birds. She says in regard to these experiments:

By means of a special apparatus which made it possible to observe the effects produced by change of color as well as by the intensity of the light allowed to fall upon the eye, the width of the pupil was measured as affected by light of different colors. In the case of human beings definite values were obtained for the eyes of persons sensitive to color, and entirely different value for color-blind persons. It was further discovered that the eyes of day birds

exhibit the same reactions to color as those of normal human beings, while the eyes of night birds resemble those of persons who are completely color blind . . . in short, my experiments lead me to the conclusion that the color vision of day birds corresponds to that of normal human beings, while that of night birds resembles the vision of the color blind in distinguishing merely different intensities of gray.

## A Polish Author Wins the Nobel Prize

FOR his novel, "Polish Peasants," published twenty years ago, the Swedish Academy awarded the 1924 Nobel Prize in Literature to the Polish author, Wladislaw Reymont. "Polish Peasants," a work in four columns, besides being a novel is a review of Poland's history from the Partition to the close of the XVIIIth Century.

The New York *Times* reprints an article written for it by Rupert Hughes in 1919 while Reymont was visiting this country. The biographical material in this article, which follows, is said to have been supplied by Reymont himself:

Wladislaw Stanislaw Reymont was born on May 6, 1868, in that part of Poland which at that time remained under Russian domination. He was one of a family of twelve which was very patriotic, rigidly Roman Catholic—and poor. His mother took, with her five brothers, an active part in the insurrection of 1863.

The schools were at that time instruments of Russification. School children were not allowed to speak Polish within the walls of the school. Reymont went from one school to another, expelled from all of them. He early began to earn his living. He was a store clerk and a telegraph operator. He was an actor in a wandering theatrical troupe. He was twice a railroad employee. He tried farming and even entered the famous monastery of the Paulist Fathers in Czestochowa with the purpose of becoming a monk.

He entered the literary field in 1894 with the publishing of a short story entitled "Death." In the following years he published a whole series of short stories in various papers. In 1896 his first novel, "The Comedienne" was published. The book was a success. It had five editions and was translated into several foreign languages. After that came a two-volume novel, "Fermenty" (Fermentation), dealing with the life in a little provincial railroad station, with that of enriched peasants and that of the heroine of the preceding novel.

Followed the two-volume novel "The Promised Land," depicting the Polish Manchester, the city of Lodz. The book was a tremendous success.

In 1898 Reymont went to Paris. There he wrote several volumes of short stories. In 1902 he began to write his four-volume novel "Chłopi" (The Peasants). The work was finished in 1906. Reymont's next novel was "Wampir" (The Vampire). The background is the life of London and the novel develops a plot dealing with Theosophic spiritualistic problems.



Wладислав Станіслав Реймонт, лауреат Нобелівської премії з літератури

Next came the one-volume novel "Marzyciel" (The Dreamer) of which the hero is a railroad employee living in the loneliness of a little station.

In 1912 Reymont began the writing of a trilogy dealing with the fall of Poland and the Kosciusko insurrection. This work was finished during the war. Reymont's novels form twenty-three volumes. He is now working on a cycle consisting of six novels one of which will have its background in America.

"Poland's Peasant Novelist," as he has been called, came to America chiefly for the purpose of studying the life of the Polish peasant in this country.

Translations of two of Reymont's works have been published in the United States—the first volume of "Polish Peasants" (under the title "Autumn"), by Knopf, and "The Comedienne," by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

## A Polish Poet of Love and Sorrow

**W**RITING in a recent number of the *Revue Bleu*, Lucien Bourguès celebrates the fame of a Polish poet, novelist, and dramatist, Przybyszewski (Pshe-be-shef-ske), who he says ought to be better known in France than he is, not only because of the high quality of the work which has flowed from his pen during the last thirty years, but also because "this founder of symbolism in Poland has so greatly loved all that comes from France." However, the first works of the novelist were written in German, since it was in German Poland that he was born in 1868 (the year in which Reymont was born in Russian Poland).

After having finished his secondary studies . . . the young Pole entered the Polytechnicum of Charlottenburg and the College of Medicine at Berlin, where he attracted notice by an extensive dissertation entitled "The Microscopic Structure of the Cerebral Covering." This biographic detail is of some importance, since it shows that while still a student and remote enough from literature, he already had a marked penchant for the "microscopic structure" of things. Later, in his works of the imagination he continued by dissecting souls, by fathoming psychological mysteries and by dissipating the illusions found in human emotions.

The first work of the future poet, novelist, and dramatist, however, lay in the field of criticism and his chosen masters were Chopin and Nietzsche, whom he considered the great discoverers of the subconscious mind. This double influence affects the whole body of his work, wherein this double theme of music and philosophy is everywhere present. Possibly one reason for this is that both Chopin and Nietzsche had Polish blood in their veins.

The young symbolist soon definitely consecrated himself to a literary life. His early works include a "Mass for the Dead," "Vigils," "The Powerful Trilogy," "Homosapiens," "De Profundis," "The Sons of Satan," "Along the Path of the Soul." In 1898 he left Berlin for Cracow, where he founded in this intellectual capital of Poland, a *Revue de Combat, Zycia* (Life), in which he broke a lance in behalf of various new ideas.

He definitely opposed to the naturalism which was then the vogue in Poland, symbolism, saying, "Art is the revelation of the soul; all previous art, realistic art, was marked by the absence of the search for the soul." This lofty profession of faith in things spiritual dominates his attitude.

For the artist who beholds but the realistic,

woman is a being either infinitely noble or simply a plaything, a cocotte, or an unapproachable "Miss." But she is something far different to the artist who follows the paths of the soul. The woman painted by Rops—that painter who has haunted, one may divine, the imagination of the Polish writer, even as Odilon Redon and Baudelaire have done—is a terrible cosmic force. The woman created by Rops is the fatal being who awakes desire in man, chains him to herself by perfidious caresses, who makes of him a monogamist, who emasculates his instincts, who moulds the tempest of his passion into new forms and who inoculates him with the poison of a diabolic torment.

For the artist touched with grace, for the true artist, love is the disturbing consciousness of an unknown and frightful force which throws two souls together in the endeavor to fuse them into one; it is the ineffable consciousness of a fathomless depth, the sense of a psychic abyss, within whose depths are found the life of unnumbered generations and of the untold centuries of sorrow which humanity has endured to perpetuate itself.

Thus love is transported to the realm of the spiritual life. To this love which is sorrow All comes and from it All proceeds. Art can possess no more beautiful subject of endeavor than the vicissitudes of this sublime sentiment.

We are told that these ideas which inspired this writer's essays grouped under the general title, "The Paths of the Soul," were very new in Poland and that they exerted a profound influence upon the youth of that period, not only in Poland but also in Russia and in Germany. About the beginning of the 20th century, the novelist settled in Warsaw and from this time wrote in Polish alone. At brief intervals the following works appeared: "Upon the Ocean," "The Dance of Love and Death," "The Fleece of Gold," a drama which met with great success in 1901; "The Synagogue of Satan," and so on. The general tone of these works is tragic, and Bourguès observes apropos of this that this sort of exalted pessimism was formerly regnant throughout Europe and inspired magnificent works from such creative minds as Schopenhauer, Wagner, Ibsen, Tchekhov, and d'Annunzio. As we have said, music plays a great part in the works of this author, who has, by the way, a musical education and plays Chopin most admirably.

In conclusion the critic remarks that while the author's novels belong to a period now ended and are valuable chiefly for their pictures of the past, his dramas are instinct with modern thought and views of life, and rank among the finest dramatic works produced in the opening years of the present century.

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# THE NEW BOOKS

## Biography and History

**Everywhere: the Memoirs of An Explorer.**  
By A. Henry Savage-Landor. Frederick A. Stokes Company. Vol. I: 387 pp. Ill. Vol. II: 437 pp. Illustrated.

Mr. A. Henry Savage-Landor was known as a writer and a portrait painter before he achieved his world-wide reputation as an explorer. Few Englishmen of our time have led more adventurous lives. His earlier books have described the countries he has visited and related many of his narrow escapes from death. The present book is devoted to his personal memoirs. There is much in it of peculiar interest to Americans—for example, Mr. Savage-Landor's tribute to the bravery of the American troops in the Boxer war and his account of early contacts with General Pershing (then Captain Pershing) in the Philippines. It appears from his narrative that Mr. Savage-Landor was the first to direct President Roosevelt's attention to the good work of Captain Pershing at his difficult Philippine post and to suggest his promotion. If Roosevelt had not fallen in with the suggestion and "jumped" Pershing to the grade of Brigadier-General, it is altogether likely that a different man would have led the American Expeditionary Force in 1917.

**Celebrities of Our Time: Interviews.** By Herman Bernstein. Joseph Lawren. 347 pp.

In the pursuit of his calling as a newspaper correspondent Mr. Bernstein has interviewed men of note in many countries during the past fifteen years. Of the hundreds of such interviews that he has had with celebrities some of the most characteristic are included in this book. There are talks with Tolstoy, Witte, Metchnikoff, Maximilian Harden, Bernard Shaw, Henri Bergson, Pope Benedict XV, Prince Kropotkin, and, among the men of the war period, Leon Trotsky, Marquis Okuma, Robert Cecil, Walter Rathenau, Eduard Benes and Woodrow Wilson. The time and place of each interview are stated, and the text has been unchanged for incorporation in the present book.

**Leaves From a Russian Diary.** By Pitirim Sorokin. E. P. Dutton & Company. 310 pp.

A vivid and convincing account of what went on in Russia during the five years beginning with the first revolution in 1917. The writer is himself a Russian and served as Kerensky's secretary and a member of the Council of the Republic. His story throws new light on the methods by which the Bolsheviks took over the revolution, as it were, and finally got control of Russia itself. Professor Sorokin refused to follow Bolshevik leadership and was proscribed as an enemy of the revolution. He was twice arrested and imprisoned, once condemned

to death and saved only by the intervention of one of his former pupils. He was finally expelled from the country in 1922. It is one of the best current illustrations of the maxim that truth is stranger than fiction, that after all these experiences this man should at the present time hold the Chair of Sociology at the University of Minnesota.

**Diary of Samuel Pepys.** Deciphered by the Rev. J. Smith from the Original Shorthand Ms. in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge; with Notes by Richard Lord Braybrooke. With an Introduction by Guy N. Pocock. E. P. Dutton & Co. Vol. I: 666 pp. Ill. Vol. II: 719 pp. Ill.

Perhaps the time may never come when there will not be a demand for a new edition of the famous diary of Pepys. Although this remarkable personal record was made 260 years ago, it is only during the past one hundred years that the public has had knowledge of it. Pepys had kept it in cipher for nearly ten years, and the secret seemed buried with him. In 1819 the key to the shorthand cipher was discovered and during the ensuing three years the Vicar of Baldock, working fourteen hours a day, translated or "decoded" the entire diary. We have in this unique work not only a remarkable portraiture of the author but a shrewd and discriminating commentary on the manners and customs of the Restoration period in England. The present two-volume edition carries many interesting illustrations, including thirty-four drawings in crayon and pen and ink by Major Benton Fletcher and several contemporary portraits of Pepys, one of which is now published for the first time.

**Napoleon—An Outline.** By Brigadier-General Colin R. Ballard. D. Appleton & Company. 325 pp. With maps.

A new military study of Napoleon by a British Army officer. It is not, however, a technical book. The campaigns of Napoleon are so presented as to be clear to the general reader. There are twenty-six sketch maps, specially drawn for this volume.

**Frances Wright.** By William Randall Waterman. (Studies in History, Economics and Public Law.) Columbia University. • 267 pp. With portrait.

The name of Frances Wright was perhaps better known in America before the Civil War than it is to-day. She was one of the foremost leaders in the early agitation for "Women's Rights" which began nearly one hundred years ago. Of Scotch parentage, she came to America in 1818, and remained here, writing and lecturing for about thirty years. The

author of this monograph in the Columbia University "Studies in History" believes that Miss Wright's greatest contribution was to the intellectual emancipation of women. She was a pioneer in demonstrating what the feminine mind could accomplish.

**Genesis and Birth of the Federal Constitution.** Edited by J. A. C. Chandler. Macmillan. 397 pp.

In the inauguration of the Marshall-Wythe School of Government and Citizenship at the ancient College of William and Mary in Virginia notable addresses were made by distinguished lawyers and publicists. These had to do with the evolution of representative government in America, culminating in the formation and ratification of the Federal Constitution. These addresses are contained in the present volume.

**A History of Public Land Policies.** By Benjamin H. Hibbard. (Land Economics Series—Edited by Richard T. Ely.) Macmillan. 591 pp.

In the "Land Economics Series," edited by Prof. Richard T. Ely, Professor Hibbard, of the University of Wisconsin, has compressed within a single volume the story of American public lands and the

way our Government has dealt with them. So closely is this story interwoven with the economic and political development of the nation, that it becomes an essential part of our national history. Moreover, Professor Hibbard's book represents the point of view of the Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities which believes that we have in America a growing land problem.

**The United States of America: II—From the Civil War.** By David Saville Muzzey. Ginn and Company. 803 pp.

The second volume of Professor Muzzey's "United States of America," bringing the Nation's story down from the Civil War to the spring of 1924, is now ready for college classes. Not satisfied merely with multiplying detail in his presentation of American history, Dr. Muzzey attempts to interpret to maturing minds the more significant of these details. The new volume emphasizes the two major problems of American history since the Civil War—the relation of our Government to "big business" and our increasing responsibility in world affairs. The appraisals of such historical characters as Blaine, Cleveland, Roosevelt and Wilson are impartial and well-balanced.

## Travel, Adventure and Description

**Heirs of the Incas.** By Carroll K. Michener. Minton, Balch & Company. 287 pp. Ill.

Mr. Michener picks out Lima as a representative South American community, far more backward than Buenos Aires and living in the reminiscence of its splendor as the center of early Spanish conquest. Looking upon the vast region which was comprised in the Inca Empire at the time of its greatest expansion as the "cradle of the South American people," Mr. Michener proceeds to describe the land and its inhabitants as they are found to-day.

**The Land of St. Francis of Assisi: Assisi and Perugia.** By Gabriel Faure. Boston: The Medici Society. 138 pp. Ill.

The latest addition to the beautiful series of "Picture Guides," published by the Medici Society and printed in France. This particular volume treats of that part of Italy with which the life of St. Francis was most closely associated, that is to say, Assisi and Perugia. The author of the book is Gabriel Faure, who had already written for the series the exquisite description of "The Italian Lakes." All the illustrations, of which there are about 150, are in rotogravure. The American office of the publishers is at 755 Boylston Street, Boston, and the price of each volume of this series is \$2.50.

**The Coasts of Illusion: a Study of Travel Tales.** By Clark B. Firestone. Harper & Bros. 409 pp. Ill.

The stories that make up the substance of this book are not fairy tales but narratives told in good faith by travelers throughout historic times. Such a book holds the material of history, for the way in

which these strange yarns were received by the contemporary generations throws not a little light on the human customs and limitations of the times. Mr. Firestone has done well to illuminate his materials with suggestive historical interpretations.

**Tide Marks: Being Some Records of a Journey to the Beaches of the Moluccas and the Forest of Malaya in 1923.** By H. M. Tomlinson. With illustrations from Drawings by Kerr Eby. Harper & Brothers. 295 pp.

In this book Mr. Tomlinson sums up for his readers what he learned in the course of a leisurely cruise among the islands of the Malay Archipelago in a Dutch trading vessel. In this journey he met with adventures such as seldom befall an American traveler and thought himself more than repaid for his sufferings by the wonderful scenery that he was privileged to behold. There are many excellent illustrations from drawings by Kerr Eby.

**A Garden Book for Autumn and Winter.** By Charles Downing Lay. Duffield & Company. 303 pp. Ill.

When a landscape architect of Mr. Lay's distinction and literary ability writes on the subject of gardens, the result cannot fail to be stimulating. With this book, Mr. Lay adds to his other distinctions that of writing the only work which deals exclusively with the garden in autumn and winter. Especially interesting are his chapters on "Preparing for Winter," "Autumn Colors and Trees in Winter," "Evergreen Shrubs in Gardening Landscape" and "Vines, Ground Covers and Ferns." The book is illustrated.

## Social and Economic Studies

**Social Life and Institutions: an Elementary Study of Society.** By Joseph K. Hart. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company. 423 pp. Ill.

Written wholly from the standpoint of modern social research, this book traces the development and organization of society and directs the student's consideration to society's problems, tasks and promises. Although dealing with profound subjects, the book is elementary in its method of treatment. The author has had the collaboration of such men as Professor Snedden, of Columbia University; Professor Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, and Professor Webster, of the University of Nebraska.

**Farmers and Workers in American Politics.** By Stuart A. Rice. (*Studies in History, Economics and Public Law.*) Columbia University. 231 pp.

This study of the Farmer-Labor "Movement," if such it may be called, is largely based upon public records as found in election returns and in the roll-called votes of Farmer and Labor members of legislatures. The author analyzes the data derived from these sources, applying to them exact methods of analysis. He calls his study "behavioristic," since the documents which he has used are mainly records of political behavior. It is perhaps the first time that information of this kind has been drawn upon in such a study of American politics.

**Unemployment Relief in Great Britain: a Study in State Socialism.** By Felix Morley. Houghton Mifflin Company. 203 pp.

A careful study of British efforts for the relief of unemployment has been made by an American, Mr. Felix Morley, who is a brother of the popular essayist, Christopher Morley. The conclusions reached by the author are decidedly unfavorable to state-operated unemployment insurance. On the other hand, insurance by industry on a wide scale is regarded by Mr. Morley as entirely feasible and full of promise.

**What LaFollette's State is Doing.** By Chester C. Platt. Batavia, N. Y.: Batavia Times Press. 292 pp. With portraits.

An account of progressive legislation in Wisconsin during the past twenty-five years. The book is

largely made up of material utilized in the recent Presidential campaign for LaFollette. The author points out among other evidences of Wisconsin's prosperity that the State has had a low rate of commercial and bank failures, while there has been a great growth in savings invested in building and loan associations and a remarkable increase in manufacturing. To what extent these things are due to the LaFollette program, inaugurated while he was Governor, the reader will have to decide for himself.

**Marketing Practice.** By Percival White and Walter S. Hayward. Doubleday, Page & Company. 577 pp. With charts.

The subject of marketing has now obtained the dignity of the course in a number of our colleges and technical schools. The book before us is addressed especially to the student enrolled in such courses, but the authors assume that the viewpoint of the business man is rapidly tending to coincide with that of the student, and hence their book is meant to be a practical guide to marketing. Assuming, on the part of the reader, a grounding in economic theory, the authors proceed without delay to the business side of the subject, treating of marketing functions, agencies, systems and of the marketing problems of the individual business. A concluding section deals with foreign markets.

**Making the Tariff in the United States.** By Thomas Walker Page. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. 281 pp.

Mr. Thomas Walker Page, former Chairman of the U. S. Tariff Commission, who contributed an article on "Our Tariff Troubles and the Remedy" to the November number of this REVIEW, is the author of a little book which discusses the American methods of preparing and enacting tariff laws, explains why certain procedures have succeeded while others have failed, and points out definite and practical schemes of reform, which should help to render our tariff-making methods more accurate and more in accord with the best interests of the country as a whole. Mr. Page's book does not deal with questions of tariff policy in themselves. He does not attempt to say what tariff policy would be suitable for the United States. His concern is with the defective methods of preparing and enacting tariff laws which have obtained in the past.

## Religion in Modern Life

**The Modern Use of the Bible.** By Harry Emerson Fosdick. Macmillan. 291 pp.

This book by Dr. Fosdick first took the form of lectures delivered on the Lyman Beecher Foundation at Yale University, but the addresses deserve, and will undoubtedly receive, general circulation. College men who first heard the lectures declared that they greatly vivified their conception of the Bible as a book for the times as well as for all time. They have a distinctly popular appeal.

**The Old Testament: a new Translation.** By James Moffatt. George H. Doran Company. Vol. I: 560 pp.

After Dr. Moffatt had successfully completed his monumental translation of the New Testament he at once undertook another task which was full of new difficulties—nothing less than the rendering of the Old Testament into modern English. Of this work the first volume (from Genesis to Esther) has just appeared. Since the publication of the King

James Bible in 1611 no real re-translation of the Old Testament into English has been attempted until now. Those who have made acquaintance with Dr. Moffatt's New Testament will appreciate this scholar's own statement of his aim in this work "to present the books of the Old Testament in effective and intelligible English."

**Century Readings in the Old Testament.** Edited, with Introductions and Notes, by John W. Cunliffe and Henry M. Battenhouse. The Century Company. 384 pp.

It is an admitted fact that popular knowledge of the Bible has failed to keep pace with the rapid expansion of the scholar's study and understanding of the Scriptures which has been going on for the past half-century. Two teachers of English have tried in this book of readings to make the Old Testament more accessible and attractive to modern readers, and to popularize some of the results of recent scholarly investigation. They have selected passages most notable for their literary, historical

or religious significance, arranged them in logical order, and supplied brief introductions and notes. Professor Cunliffe is Director of the Columbia University School of Journalism, while Dr. Battenhouse is Associate Professor of English Literature at the Pennsylvania State College.

**The History of Religion in the United States.** By Henry Kalloch Rowe. Macmillan. 213 pp.

Dr. Rowe conceives of the history of religion as something more than the history of the Church. He undertakes in this book to give a broad and sympathetic interpretation to the religious phases of our history which have been significant from the very beginning. Some idea of Dr. Rowe's plan of treatment may be conveyed by a few of his chapter headings: "The Heritage from Overseas," "Tendencies Towards Liberalism," "Religion on the Frontier," "Rationalizing Religion," "Socializing Religion" and "Spiritualizing Religion." In the last two chapters of the book, Dr. Rowe deals with the Church organizations and observable tendencies toward unity.

## Other Timely Books

**My Dear Cornelia.** By Stuart P. Sherman. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press. 281 pp.

We shall not call this a book of essays, for that word has far too formal a sound. It is rather a record of delightful conversations, several of which have already been reported in the pages of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and one of which—that concerned with the Eighteenth Amendment—was briefly noted in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. Not only Prohibition but the tendency of the modern novel, religion, marriage and girls are among the questions discussed in these conversations. The subjects themselves are of unlimited "human interest," and they are treated by Professor Sherman with characteristic wit, humor and good sense.

**A Handbook of Solar Eclipses.** By Isabel Martin Lewis. Duffield & Company. 118 pp. With maps and other illustrations.

This book appears just in time to bring the information needed by those who will be so fortunate as to observe the eclipse of the Sun on January 24, 1925, in the path of its totality. Miss Lewis's equipment for the task of preparing such a handbook as this is evidenced by the fact that it is her duty to make the official computations on all solar and lunar eclipses for the Nautical Almanac Office of the U. S. Naval Observatory at Washington. The total eclipse that will pass over Mid-Western and Eastern States this month is the first to occur in New York and New England since 1866.

**First Aid to the Opera-Goer.** By Mary Fitch Watkins. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 367 pp. Ill.

Now that the opera season is on, those music lovers who are without a knowledge of French, Italian or German, but who desire to attend the great performances of opera in those languages, are truly in need of "First Aid." Heretofore they have had to rely in the main on dry and somewhat forbidding synopses of opera plots. This book is a

successful attempt to give the stories of many of the operas most frequently given, in clear and bracing English. As thus presented, these plot narratives are much more than literal translations of the original. They are really interpretations of the operas in a medium that the average reader, whether an habitual opera-goer or not, can understand and appreciate. Indeed, even those who live at a distance from the centers where operas are produced can get from this book much of the spirit of the great works in French, Italian and German even when deprived of the actual performances.

**Church Pageantry.** By Madeleine Sweeny Miller. With an Introduction by Adna W. Leonard. The Methodist Book Concern. 216 pp. Ill.

The production of educational dramatics by church organizations has become so common in this country that a book of this kind, based on a wide knowledge of pageantry and a successful experience as a producer, comes at the right moment. An introduction by the Bishop Leonard, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, heartily commends the book.

**Our Harbors and Inland Waterways.** By Francis A. Collins. The Century Company. 295 pp. Ill.

Ever since the Erie canal was opened to commerce, one hundred years ago, this country has had before it the problem of developing waterways throughout the country so as to bring our inland ports in touch with foreign markets. The projected Great Lakes to Ocean Waterway is now engaging the attention of the farmers of our Middle West. In this new study of the subject Mr. Collins describes some of the engineering problems encountered in the building of our harbors and traces the development of several of our leading ports. It is a non-technical book and tells an entertaining story.